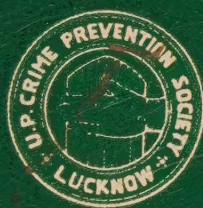


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Editor

Radhakamal Mukerjee
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SOCIAL SECURITY AND WELFARE FOR INDIAN WOMEN

By

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

Problems of social security and welfare have so far been approached from the viewpoint of men's needs, rather than those of women's. There are, however, certain special requirements and handicaps of women that have to be separately considered and adequately provided for ; while the programmes of social work, welfare and rehabilitation for women are quite different especially in the Indian social context.

All social welfare aims at safeguarding a desirable minimum standard of living, freedom and security for both men and women. It has been estimated that in 1960 there will be about 40 million jobless persons in India. To provide suitable and adequate employment for about 20 million jobless women is the challenge that must be accepted by Government. In the rural areas lighter tasks in connection with the construction of public works ought to be reserved for women. But this only can be done where the employment of labour by contractors is abolished and Government directly or through co-operatives employ the labour force. The vast amount of invisible unemployment in agriculture has also to be reckoned with. In India as a whole unemployment among the agricultural workers is about 82 days in the year. In the U. P. where the holdings are extremely undersized and

uneconomical, and there is an abundance of agricultural workers, especially women, the incidence of unemployment will be longer and may be estimated of the order of 100 days per worker per year. Such vast visible and invisible unemployment of women cannot be easily remedied. But an all-out effort must be made in the direction of the organisation of a large variety of village and cottage industries that are especially suitable for women. Among these may be mentioned, basket-weaving, wicker-work, rope-making mat-making, papier meche and toy manufacture. cloth-printing, embroidery, tailoring and spinning. A net-work of industrial co-operatives providing facilities of supply of raw materials and marketing, and handicraft training centres for women should early be established to utilise the vast idle and semi-idle women labour in the countryside.

In an undeveloped country like ours women are drafted from their homes to work much earlier than in advanced countries. This necessitates special protection of woman labour in agriculture, in organised and unorganised and unorganised industries, and in households. Equal pay for equal work must be safeguarded, minimum wages guaranteed, especially in industries such as biri-making, brick manufacture, rice and sugar manu-

facture, and long hours of labour and night work prevented. There is need of legislation fixing the maximum load which a woman worker should be permitted to carry on a lower scale than man's load as in the industrial countries in the West. The limit of lifting or carrying weight should be 35 lbs. for adult women, 25 lbs. for adolescent women and 20lbs. for girls.

Where mothers go out for work and children are left to their own devices, there is need of voluntary organisations of women social workers coming forward to take care of the children, and rescue waifs and strays from the streets. Where there is large-scale industrial employment of women, the employers ought to provide creches and day nurseries for the care of the children.

Protective measures and policies relating to children should be devised and implemented in the country in the spirit of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child at Geneva in 1958. At birth there should be free and compulsory protection of the eyes against venereal infection, and later on compulsory inoculation against small-pox and tuberculosis, and diphtheria, cholera and typhoid in times of epidemics. With free and compulsory education of children should be associated free lunches in schools for mitigating the present serious nutritional deficiency.

Organisation of recreation and sports facilities through children's play grounds, young persons' clubs, films, radio, books, hobbies and other leisure activities ought to constitute an essential part of the school programme.

We also need specialised institutions and services for the physically and mentally handicapped or inadequ-

ate as well as delinquent children. Every important town should have a child guidance clinic for offering facilities of counselling and guidance for the treatment of abnormal and difficult children, truants and waifs and strays.

Recent legislation passed by Parliament that has obviously aimed at the abolition of vice has not been backed up by the necessary social work agencies and institutions. Brothels are raided and dispersed in many cities and towns with the result that the women have moved to safer towns or to unsuspected areas for clandestine prostitution. Proper Homes should be established under the management of women social work agencies in order to rescue and rehabilitate women engaged in the profession of vice. There is urgent need of establishment of a certified School and Hostel for girls up to the age of twelve rescued from brothels in every important town. Training and rehabilitation programmes should be introduced in a hospitable atmosphere with ample recreational opportunities, especially music and dance in the community setting. Contacts should also be made with the Girls' Schools of the town for their placement.

Maternity is a special and serious handicap for women. There should be established a net-work of maternity and child welfare centres in rural areas to provide such basic services as ante-natal care, confinement, delivery in the homes and follow-up of health for both mothers and children. In the U. P. there are about 600 such centres in the rural areas. Many more are needed to cope with the needs of expectant and nursing mothers. A scheme of milk distribution for mothers has been introduced in U. P. in 14 districts. This has also to be enlarged.

Family Planning should be systematically taken up and contraceptives freely distributed in connection with maternity and child welfare work in all towns and villages.

In the Family Planning Project area in Lucknow villages where we distributed contraceptives our investigation indicates that 70% of the rural mothers advised have shown eagerness to learn the method of contraception, and 15 per cent have adopted the practice. Family planning cannot be dismissed as unacceptable to the Indian masses. The moot problem is the right approach. It is the sympathetic and tactful social worker, scientifically trained in the profession who can win the confidence of the mothers and advise the spacing and restriction of births, not as an isolated panacea but dovetailed into a programme of improvement of health, efficiency and well-being of the family, and especially of the mothers into whose minds a new worth and dignity of the women folk have to be instilled.

There is urgent necessity of administrative measures with a view to effective implementation of the Sarda Act which is violated wholesale, especially in the rural areas. Here again voluntary social work agencies of educated women can achieve a lot by counselling and propaganda in the villages.

Misery, insecurity and bondage are writ large on the faces of the Indian womenfolk, especially on the veiled faces of the purdah-nasheen women. Diseases play havoc with men's and women's lives sometimes impartially and sometimes partially. Diseases like malaria and plague appear to exercise a selective lethal influence on women. Where economic pressure is severe and the working woman exposed to the hardships of struggle, soil and climate, she shows on the whole higher morbi-

dity and mortality especially during her child-bearing period. There is also unconscious or deliberate neglect of girl babies everywhere due partly to age-old social habits and attitudes, and partly to the parents' great solicitude for their sons. The boys are better clad and when ill are more carefully attended in many homes in India. All this has its impress not only upon a higher mortality among females than among males but also in certain castes and communities on their sex ratio.

In the slum areas of the city of Lucknow tuberculosis is a chronic and terrible scourge due to its aggravation by overcrowding, absence of open spaces and the purdah system. 14,000 persons suffer from tuberculosis in the city, and 1,400 persons die every year tuberculosis of the lungs. The incidence is the highest in the age group 11-15 years about 75%, of which a considerable proportion is represented by purdah-nasheen Muslim women. There is relentless interplay here of social, economic and hygienic factors responsible for the higher rate of mortality of Muslim women. The opening of zanzana-parks, home visiting by social workers, mass vaccination against tuberculosis and abolition of purdah all urgently require voluntary social work agencies.

The curcial task for the total fight against the special inadequacies and handicaps of Indian women and for their rehabilitation is adult social education. Indian women for long centuries have been accustomed to obtain their education through the spoken rather than the printed word, through the story, the drama, the dance and pageant. If we have to depend on the establishment of schools for the liquidation of illiteracy no appreciable progress can be achieved within half a century. Due to India's sense of myth

and legend, her love of drama and vocal music, and her responsiveness to story-recital and scenic representation, adult education for women can be quickly and effectively disseminated through the rehabilitation of the indigenous methods of education, such as katha, rahas and bhajan than is usually imagined. New values of equality and justice and the worth and dignity of womanhood have to be injected into old myths and legends so that these may be powerful weapons in the fight against ignorance and superstition.

Women's select and supreme vocation is service, and her supreme impulse is compassion that can stir up her whole being. Today the Universities are offering courses in scientific methods and techniques of social work that may kindle their natural capacities and devotions. The women social worker trained at the University should develop as the true Lakshmi and Sevika of the entire nation.

Not before her spontaneous altruism and sacrifice are harnessed for the uplift of her under-privileged sister is

there any hope of progress of the nation.

The social work profession is the youngest in the country and ought to have special attraction for women. There are about 6 lakhs women teachers in primary and secondary schools in the country today. The number of these falls far short of the requirements of our Five Year Plan. Women doctors, nurses and health visitors are even scarcer. Women social workers, teachers, doctors and nurses have played a most significant role in the development of the U.S.S.R. and China. Their professions have also been accorded proper status and dignity in these countries. India's new social and economic order cannot be built up unless educated women join and serve the country in much larger numbers in the professions of teaching, medicine and nursing, and especially the profession of social work that has to carry a new message of human worth to the womanhood of the country exploited, depressed and frustrated for many generations.

SOCIAL DEFENCE FOR INDIAN WOMEN

By

SUSHILA NAYAR

India had worked out a fairly adequate system of social security in the past in the form of the old joint family system. Social defence was provided by religious teachings and social restraints. Today the joint family is fast disappearing and so are the old social restraints. Woman has got equal political and economic rights under our constitution and laws enacted by the Parliament. Social legislation has given her the right of divorce and has enforced monogamy so that the husband cannot impose another wife on her and she has the right to demand separation or divorce for infidelity on his part. The question arises whether the woman is in a position to take advantage of all these rights and facilities available to her, for social security or social defence or whether there is need for something more. We must also examine whether there are lacunae in our social legislation, whether the legislation is being properly implemented and whether adequate steps have been taken to prepare the women to be able to stand on her own feet and exercise the rights that she has.

Many western visitors are impressed by the status of women in India. Some of them state that Indian women are more progressive and are playing a more important part in the national life of India than women in their own countries though they are far ahead of

us in the race for development, technology, education and economic well-being. But their judgment is based on her experience of a handful of women they meet in prominent positions. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent struggle for independence, women were able to take equal part in the freedom movement and after independence our constitution makers found it most natural that women be given equal rights under the Indian constitution. We did not have to struggle for the right to vote, and any woman can hope to become the President or the Prime Minister of India. But looking to the millions of women in India the picture that presents itself is by no means very encouraging. They continue to spend their lives in drudgery, bordering on inhuman conditions. They go to vote in most cases without understanding the significance of the right to vote. They marry, produce unlimited number of children, begin to look old in the prime of life, and end their days in cooking or washing for their families. Manu, the ancient law giver, has stated that in childhood the women must depend on her father, in youth on her husband and in her old age on her sons. For the majority of Indian women the law of Manu is the only law they know and understand and to them life without dependence on a man is impossible. Manu however forgot that a little girl may lose

her father or both parents, a young woman may become a widow or a deserted wife and the elderly woman may be without sons. The joint family system might have catered for the dependents of the dead or disabled men when populations were small, and each family had enough land. But with the growth of industrialisation and fragmentation of land holdings, it has become impossible for any one person to look after the needs of a large family. The partition of India which brought over fifty to sixty million people from Pakistan with no village homes to fall back upon at the time of need, has made the problem of social security an urgent and a pressing one.

Large numbers of women have to go and work to support themselves and their families in all parts of India. It is a sad fact that even today women do not get equal wages for equal work in many places in India. The number of women in industry is ever increasing. As industrial labour they are entitled to certain benefits such as maternity leave, etc. But laws ensuring such benefits are applicable only to industrial concerns of a certain size. In small undertakings such needs are not taken care of. I have often seen a full time pregnant Woman carrying a basket of earth or bricks on her head working as contractor's labour. It is nobody's concern. There is none to ensure for her the much needed rest and nourishment.

All working mothers need a creche or a day nursery where they can leave their children in good care. Adequate arrangements for the children of working mothers are lacking even in cities—not to talk of the rural areas where live 75% to 80% of the people of India. There is urgent need for providing such facilities in the cities for the children of women working in industry as casual labourers in building work or

otherwise, as sweepresses in the municipalities, as teachers and clerks, as telephone operators and radio technicians, etc. There is need also for taking such conveniences to our rural areas. The Kasturba Trust, the Social Welfare Board, and the Community Development organization have made a beginning in that direction. But the pace of progress is far too slow. Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh in her report on women's education has dwelt on the problem of finding personnel even for the limited services that are being provided. Only 20% of the girls in the primary school age-group 6 to 11 are attending school in this country today, 10 years after independence, whereas we had promised ourselves free and compulsory education for all children between 6 to 14 within 10 years of attaining freedom. All the statutes ensuring equal rights and opportunities for women must remain a dead letter so long as the woman is denied the opportunities of education and intellectual development.

It is a sad fact that there are hundreds of thousands in India today who sell their bodies to earn a living or who live on such earnings. Prostitution, individual and organised, goes on practically unchecked in the land of Mahatma Gandhi 10 years after the attainment of independence. And yet we never weary of boasting of our moral and spiritual heritage as against the materialism of the west. There are in our midst men and women in responsible positions who frankly say that this most ancient of professions in the world can never be put an end to. It has been with us from the dawn of history and will be with us for all time whatever we do. There are others who argue that men who cannot have their wives with them cannot go on if human flesh is not available for sale and others who fear that bad men will attack respectable housewives if some women are

not set aside for catering to their lust. It is strange reasoning, the perverseness of which is obvious. It is true that individual morality is the concern primarily of the individual and his family and is a matter largely of education rather than legislation. Granted that in spite of every effort there will be some instances of promiscuity and immoral individuals in society. But does that mean that one should be a party to organised vice and tolerate the evil as inevitable? There are instances of theft, murder and dacoity in society in spite of the police and the Criminal Procedure Code. But no one has yet suggested that society should accept such aberrations as normal events of life. Should not the same apply to Prostitution? "But," argue the critics, "prostitution is different. It is a fundamental right of every human being to practise any profession he or she likes in order to earn one's living." This plea was actually advanced to exclude individual prostitution from the purview of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956. The result is that it has become well-nigh impossible to effectively implement that Act and achieve even the limited objective of putting an end to commercialised vice in the form of brothels, etc. The brothel-keeper puts up wooden partitions so that each prostitute has a room to herself and claim to be practising the profession on her own. It is the opinion of some experienced members of the judiciary and the police that the Act, as it stands, cannot achieve the objective that it had in view. To put an end to commercialised vice, the least that must be done is that prostitution *per se* should be banned as has been done in our neighbouring country of China. The plea of fundamental rights should not come in the way. For instance, is it not recognised as a fundamental right that one can eat and drink whatever he or she likes? Yet

we have prohibition and have put restrictions on the sale and consumption of opium and alcohol on the ground that it is bad for the well-being of the individual concerned, his family and society as a whole. Alcohol has its apologists. But prostitution is universally recognised as a vice and an evil, and vice, as Lord Chesterfield pointed out, cannot be a matter for regulation. It must be suppressed. Prostitution is bad for the individual concerned, it is bad for her family and bad for society as a whole, and therefore cannot be tolerated as a profession. But this calls for enlightened public opinion on the one hand and a determination to root out the evil on the other. Both are lacking in our country at present as a rule.

To work out a programme of social defence for women, there has to be careful and comprehensive planning for the prevention of prostitution on the one hand and for the rescue and rehabilitation of those who have fallen already into the clutches of the evil-doers.

For the prevention programme, one has to make provision for the girls of such communities as have for generations brought up their daughters for carrying on the "Pesha". Fortunately there is some awakening among them also. Recently a deputation of the so-called singing and dancing girls came to see me at Delhi. They asked for adequate arrangements for the training and education of their children so that they would become normal citizens. They said they would be content if their children could earn even Rs. 100 to 150 a month. But they did not want them to follow their profession and be outcasts of society. I was also told by them that the numbers of the "Kanjars" and other castes practising "Pesha" on a hereditary basis is about 17 lakhs.

Apart from the hereditary prostitutes, there are Chaudhrayans and Chaudhries among them, who bring girls from other walks of society into their own circle. The active life of a prostitute cannot last very long. She loses her youth fairly early. Having become unfit to earn her living in any other way, her only chance of survival lies in trapping other young women and bringing them into the profession so that she can live on their earnings. In the course of several investigations, it was brought out that the portion of their earnings which remains with the prostitutes themselves is very meagre. The greater part of them goes to the brothel keepers, pimps and police as bribe money and as fines when they are caught and brought before the courts. The judiciary has to become an active participant in this drive against prostitution and find out ways and means of dealing with the cases that come before them with a view to putting an end to this evil. Fines as they are being imposed at present are not of much use for this purpose of eradicating the practice of prostitution.

For rooting out the evil of prostitution it is essential that fresh recruitment to the ranks of prostitutes be stopped. With that end in view brothel keepers and prostitutes trapping young girls must be given exemplary punishment so that it may have a deterrent effect.

There has to be unflagging vigilance on the part of society and the police to prevent immoral traffic in girls. Naik Girls' Act passed under Shri Govind Ballabh Pant when he was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh is a fine instance of preventive legislation.

Care has to be taken to house the lost and deserted and destitute women in shelters where efforts can be made

for restoring them to their families. I recently saw a very good example of one such Home at Madras run by the local vigilance Association. It is called Abaya Nilayam and has looked after 580 women during the last year, 80% of whom were restored to their families and the rest sent to various institutions. There is no doubt that but for this timely help, most of them would have fallen into evil hands.

The scheme of the Home Ministry for opening district shelters in every district is a good one and would go a long way towards meeting this need if the management can be taken over by active social workers of the type that are running the Madras Vigilance Association. I am afraid that if they are run as a purely Government venture with ornamental non-official members on the managing committees, as is being done at present, they are not likely to produce the results that we all have in view.

Social Defence for the individual women working in the cities, in office, etc. is also an important question. Hostels for working girls with well trained social workers as Matrons of the hostels will meet the need to some extent. Hostels with facilities for separate kitchens for women with one or two children are also necessary. In the offices and other places of employment, we must have welfare officers for women employees who are well trained and carefully selected keeping in view their temperamental suitability for the job they would have to handle. They must have a suitable status to be able to stand up against high officers, if need be, in order to prevent exploitation of junior women employees. In the rural areas, social defence of women workers poses a more difficult problem. Adequate housing and mobile women welfare officers are an absolute necessity.

The problem of the unmarried mothers has not been given sufficient attention in our country so far. A young woman must not be thrown to the wolves because of a mistake due to inexperience or some other unfortunate circumstance. The children born under such conditions must also be protected. If a mother has the courage to keep her child, she may be allowed to do so. In other instances the children may be given away in adoption after careful scrutiny of prospective parents or be properly brought up by the State or Social welfare organisations. I will not get into the question of orphanages here which is a subject by itself. Suffice to say there is considerable room for improvement there.

Women who have become victims of brothel keepers, etc. and are already leading a life of prostitution have to be persuaded to leave the dens of vice and rescued with the help of the police if necessary and housed in Homes where each case can be studied individually and a plan worked out for her rehabilitation within a measurable space of time, say within 3 to 5 years at the most. Their talents in the field of singing and dancing should be developed and made use of. Social workers must see to it that when they come out of the homes, they are not put under a stigma in society and there are adequate vigilance arrangements to see to it that they are not exploited by any one because of their past.

Last but not least is the question of sex education for the youth, the college

and high school students, so that they are taught the facts of life in a proper manner in preparation for a happy normal family life. It is a sad state of affairs that while our school curricula are filled with all kinds of things which may be of no use in life, a subject like sex is left to the youngsters own imagination. They learn about it by seeing dogs mating in the streets, which forms a subject of whispering among themselves. There is a strange guilt complex attached to all talk about sex, which prevents the grown ups from talking about it to the youngsters in an objective, scientific manner. This has got to be corrected. Finally the question of venereal disease control programme is also an important part of social defence. We can not leave those who have made mistakes to suffer and pay for them, for they are capable of spreading the disease. We can not leave them to realise their own responsibility and seek treatment in the impersonal outpatients departments of hospitals. We have to provide for venereal diseases control clinics, in a setting where those in need can come for consultation and treatment and men or women doctors and social workers would give them a sympathetic hearing and sound advice, where contacts can be traced and brought for treatment and where active public opinion can be cultivated and knowledge about the cause and cure of disease made available so as to be able to fight this evil effectively. For the social defence of women, it is necessary that the husband does not bring to his wife the infection but gets himself properly treated and cured in body and mind.

CONDEMNED PRISONERS—THEIR RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

By

SUSHIL CHANDRA

It is a significant observation of prison officials that the condemned prisoners' Cells are places of ardent worship where prayers are offered and holy scriptures recited intensively throughout the day and a major portion of the night.

A condemned prisoner is a person who has been sentenced to death by the court of sessions. The condemned prisoners' cell is the place where such a person is awaiting the execution of his sentence or the results of the appeal against his conviction before the High Court. If this appeal has been dismissed by the High Court, he, in a highly nervous state of anxiety, is awaiting the result of his petition for mercy. These judicial processes entail a long period of detention in the cells which, on an average, may cover a period of seven months.

State of Intense Religiousness

In the loneliness of a small solitary cell, with a door of iron gratings opening in the verandah in front of a corridor, the mental processes of the individual in the expectation of death, for whom death is a genuine fear and a reality; coupled with his cultural and religious heritage; and the constant advice of jail staff to look forward to God, who is All Merciful, partly to check suicidal tendencies and

maintain discipline; and partly the traditions of the cell itself, create a typical and a peculiar social atmosphere which is conducive to a state of intense religiousness in the condemned prisoners.

This paper is the result of a study of such prisoners in the 16 condemned prisoners cells in a District Jail a few years ago, and a group interview with about 50 prisoners who have had the experience of living in the condemned prisoners cells, but on the commutation of the sentence of death, were serving their period of life imprisonment in a Central Prison. It had the further benefit of the observations of experienced prison officials and one of the four executioners, who carried out as many as 300 executions during a period of 18 years.

There were 16 condemned prisoners cells in the District Jail. The population varies from 12 to 16. At the time of the enquiry there was full strength. This population of 16 prisoners comprised 13 Hindu and 3 Mohammedan condemned convicts. Of the 13 Hindus; 3 were Brahmins, one Thakur, one Bania, 3 Koris, 3 Ahirs and 2 Lodhs. Out of these 16; 6 were literate including one Mohammadan and the remaining 10 were illiterate. There were 14 rural dwellers while 2 came from the

cities. In the case of 15 persons, appeals were pending in the High Court while the remaining one had lost his petition for mercy.

Life in the Cells

The routine life of the inmates of these cells is that they get up early in the morning. After they are free from ablutions they take to their prayers and recitations. They are taken out of the cells by turn and allowed to walk in the veranah and the corridor. They talk to one another freely. It has been observed that they mostly talk about their cases and its various stages. It is also not an uncommon sight to find them cutting jokes and trying to cheer up the new comer in the cells. When shut up in the cells they start their prayers and recitations. Such prisoners are not put on prison labour. After the lamps are lit, one of them, who is good at recitation starts reciting. Inmates in other cells bring their beddings near the gratings and hear attentively. This goes on till about 10 or 10:30 P. M. and thereafter they go to sleep. The observation of the night guards is that most of them sleep soundly till the small hours of the morning except the newly arrived who after sometime imbibe the atmosphere of the cell.

In the process of man's adaptation to his environment perhaps the adjustment of the condemned prisoner to the dull and dreary solitary cell, surcharged with intense anxiety and uncertainty about the future, is a wonder, which of necessity has been brought about as a result of constant contact with man's mystic faith punctuated by the offering of prayers and recitations from the scriptures.

Their religious attitudes

The prison officials assert that the only type of literature demanded by

the literate condemned prisoner is the holy books of the religion to which he belongs. Hindu literate prisoners demand *Ramayan* and *Gita* and verses in praise of Hanuman such as *Hanuman Chalisa* and *Sankat Mochan*. Those who are sufficiently educated demand *Gita* and *Sukh Sagar* and other religious books. Usually it is the *Ramayan* which is most popularly recited and heard. It is significant to mark the various chapters which are commonly recited. Of the various *Kandas* (*Chapters*) of *Ramayan*, *Ajodhya Kand*, *Kishkinda Kand* and *Sunder Kand* are regularly read. Of these three *Kandas*, *Ajodhya Kand* is the highest in order of preference. That section of the *Ajodhya Kand* is read with devotion where *Ramachandra* leaves the capital town of *Ajodhya* for the forest, under the terms of the exile.

The illiterate Hindu convicts hear these recitations from their own cells. There is one block of 8 cells facing another symmetrical block just opposite. So recitations in one cell are quite audible in the remaining cells. When recitations are over, the illiterate prisoners busy themselves with *Bhajans* (*Holy songs*) and counting of rosary beads. In one cell, it was observed that the prisoner had made a *woolen rosary* out of the black woollen yarns, from the blankets which are supplied as part of prisoners kit. These yarns were twisted and intertwined and made into a thick cord. Knots at regular distance of a quarter of an inch were tied and thus an indigenous and an improvised type of a *rosary* was made. Though under rules he is supplied with a rosary, if he demands one, yet this device gave him greater pleasure as he made his own *rosary* out of devotion. The prisoner in his loneliness counts these woollen knots and mutters "*Ram Ram*" as he proceeds with the counting.

Muslim condemned prisoners demand the *Koran*, *Panjshura*, and the

Noor-Nama. The *Panjsura*, is very commonly recited. Both the literate and illiterate muslim prisoners offer *namaz* regularly at the prescribed time, that is, five times during the course of the day and night. One of the illiterate Muslim condemned prisoners remarked that when he ponders over the events of the past his head starts reeling and spinning. He starts offering prayers and *namaz*; gets relief and rolls down to sleep on his blanket bed on floor.

Another significant religious attitude, observed in the cells, is the phase of the boon or commonly known as "*Minat-Manta*". Three prisoners were growing beards. The reason being that if the particular deity, to whom they had dedicated it, was pleased to order their release from the present predicament they would go to the shrine of that deity and get their beards shaved. Others had offered another judicious bribe in the form that if they were released they would feed a few brahmins, would listen to the Bhagvad and the like.

Psychology of the religious attitude

The imminent danger of death heightens the sense of guilt. This leads to two great dangers with which the condemned prisoner is faced. One is the real danger of death in the very near future. Second is the danger of the super-Ego's condemnation of the individual. This results in the creation of a sense of utter dejection and helplessness which further accentuates the consciousness of guilt. Man's mystic faith in religion comes to his aid at this crucial juncture. He identifies himself with his beloved deities. As for example, the individual obtains relief when he is reciting that section of *Ajodhya Kand* where Ramchandra, is in banishment and leaves his native kingdom of Ajodhya for the forest. That parti-

cular part of the Ramayan is very much to his advantage in his struggle with his super-ego and getting himself reconciled to the isolation of the solitary cell. Identification with the deity assuages the torturing guilt-feeling.

Divine Grace

In the *Kishkinda Kand*, his phantasy is that of identification with the situation of Ramchandra's meeting Hanuman in the forest prior to his obtaining the clues to the rescue of Sita. He, there-after, feels hopeful of the Divine Grace. A prisoner, on the commutation of his death sentence now in the Central Prison, remarking on his mental state in the condemned prisoners cell said, "I felt the presence of God. I felt that there was something near me".

The recitation of *Sankat Mochan* and *Hanuman Chalisa* bring him nearer to his objective viz., release from the present state of turmoil, trouble and chaos.

Whether Hindu or Muslim, the mental processes being what they are, and the same for both, relief is sought by the Muslim condemned convict by the recitation of the *Panjsura*, much in the same way as his Hindu neighbour in the adjoining cell is seeking.

Panjsura is a compilation of five suras of the *Koran*, which are famous for their *Maqbooliat* (Acceptance) or being preferential. The common belief being that by the recitation of these *Sura* there is atonement of sins, evils can be neutralized and a state of tranquility and bliss can be obtained. *Noor-nama*, a later compilation is in the praise of the Prophet. The faithful is invoking the aid of mercy of *Allah*, in his struggle with the sense of guilt. The pent

up emotions in the solitary cell are in immediate need of release. This release is sought through the mechanism of the mystic faith in his religion. This alone helps the individual to look forward to Mercy—the silver lining, which sustains him well during a period of almost seven months in the cell.

Solace Through Prayers

Another significant phase regarding the mental life in the cell emerged as the result of a discussion with a group of about 50 prisoners whose sentence of death was commuted. The response to a direct question as to why they were intensely religious when in the condemned prisoners cell, elicited the following replies.—That in the cells they were face to face with death. The fear of death led to a very disturbed state of the mind and solace was achieved through prayers and recitations from the holy books. Another popular reply was that prayers were recited in the expectation that God in His Infinite Mercy would listen to their prayers and they would be saved from the gallows. Another reply was that in the solitariness of the cell they contemplated over the events of the past and upon the unfinished tasks in their life. This was perhaps due to the various objectives enjoined upon man by religion. This developed a sense of religious duty. As in the case of the Hindus it is the sacred duty of a father to give his daughter in marriage to a suitable person. When such unfinished tasks came to their mind they were restless. This phase of mental conflict was to be resolved by resigning to Destiny through the medium of Prayers.

The observations of an executioner, who is responsible for about 300 execu-

tions, are that invariably all the Hindu condemned convicts recite loudly, almost mechanically, "Ram Ram", and muslims, "La Illa Ill Lill Lah Mohammad-ur-Rasul Allah", as they are marched off from the condemned prisoners cells, on their last journey, to the gallows to meet their death.

At the Last Moment

When a condemned prisoner is taken to the gallows his hands are handcuffed towards his back. Both the arms are held by the prison guards. A day before the execution the drop is arranged and a dummy hanged in order to ensure a successful and quick execution the next morning. The final stage is set by the executioner. The condemned prisoner is brought to the gallows. His feet are tied with a small rope. A cap is covered on his face. The noose is put round the neck with a brass ring on the right side. The clutch is released. The trap doors fall down with a thud. The man on the trap door hangs down in the pit with tremendous jerk which breaks the cerebral cord. The man is dead. It hardly takes a minute or two for the executioner to perform all these operations with singular dexterity.

The observations of an experienced prison official, who supervised as many as 50 executions, are that it is almost rare to take a prisoner to the gallows by force. He walks upto the gallows, which are very near the condemned prisoners cells but not visible from there, almost mechanically under the escort, supported on their hands. Though the entire body is shaking and almost on breaking point yet "Ram Ram" and "La Illa" is pouring forth loudly from his mouth in very quick succession. Such is the result of intense religiousness in the cells.

CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS OF SOCIAL ASPECT OF HEALTH AND DISEASE

By

B. G. PRASAD

Public Health work has grown during the last one hundred years from an attack on insanitation, through the bacteriological era and the narrowness of control of infectious diseases, to a campaign for health at the optimum—the positive health. We do not talk now about controlling malaria, but have switched on to eradication of malaria, as prevention is not only better but cheaper than cure, and eradication would be cheaper and easier than control in the long run. The aim, however, is not merely to prevent disease but to promote and preserve health. The attack is not only on causes of mortality, but also on causes of morbidity, disability, inefficiency and disharmony. It is being increasingly acknowledged that many diseases have their origin in social, domestic, or industrial maladjustment; occupational hazards; economic insecurity, nutritional inadequacy or endocrine imbalance. The medical practitioner, the sociologist, the psychologist and the anthropologist in Western countries are becoming aware that stresses and strains in human relationship and adverse factors in the environment—physical, social and biological—have become more important in the causation of disease than the pathogenic bacteria and viruses, most of which have now been controlled. Accidents and burns in

children and cardiovascular and other degenerative diseases in the adults have become the major cause of death. Mental illness has grown to become the most important cause of disability. In some of the Western countries 50 per cent of the hospital beds are occupied by patients suffering from mental illness and they are still short of beds for mental cases.

Imbalance is increasing daily between human and materialistic values. People are getting conditioned in their action more by materialistic value than by moral values. In Edinburgh a Sociologist lecturing to post-graduate medical students inquired: How many earning doctors hand over their pay packet to their wives? I was the only Indian in the class and only person to raise the hand. It is no wonder that Lady Helen Nutting, Chairman of the British Council of Married Women, wants Parliament to pass a law requiring husbands to turn over their wives a percentage of their salaries. This illustrates the difference in the value attached to money in the British and the Indian society. In India there is no problem at present of the aged people. The aged are taken care of by their children. In Western society the care of the aged is not a responsibility of the children and has to be organised and provided by the State.

But the love of the grown-up children for their aged parents and vice versa is missing. There is eminent danger that with the increasing stress on materialistic values in our changing society the care of the aged after a few generations may have to be organised by the State. Marriage is more or less universal at present in India. By tradition it lays the foundation of a good, stable and healthy family life. In India the usual custom is to perform the marriage early at about the age of puberty. Even child marriages are sometimes performed, which is not only a bad social custom but is also unsafe for child bearing. It is fortunately disappearing. Marriage soon after puberty appears to my mind not only a sound and desirable practice but also helps the young bride to get herself adjusted smoothly in the husband's joint family. When marriage is late the adjustment may become difficult. Higher education, especially in females, may be a cause of postponement of marriage. As it gives economic independence and creates love for materialistic values, separation from the joint family, owing to difficulties of adjustment, may be an outcome. With the desire for economic independence and stress on the materialistic values, the centuries old joint family system, providing the only social security which we have, has started breaking up. Soon the result may be that a considerable portion of our urban population is faced during our life's time with the problem of the care of the aged, one of the most complex social problems of Western countries at present. There is another aspect. There is no problem of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children with us at present. In England and Wales illegitimate births form nearly 7 per cent of the total births. If marriage is postponed and universality of marriage disappears we are bound to be faced with this problem as has

been the experience in the Western countries. At present in the age group 15-24 years the proportion of unmarried per 1,000 among males is 145 and among females 50 only. Postponement of marriage to restrict the number of births is also likely to create the above problems.

Rapid materialistic progress in a competitive world is associated with hurry, worry and curry, factors which are becoming increasingly important in the causation of ill-health. Whereas a Nutrition Clinic in an underdeveloped country is organised to fight and correct widespread undernutrition, the Clinic in the U. S. A. is used to fight obesity, a major social public health problem, caused by overeating, which shortens life and causes cardiovascular and other degenerative diseases.

A few examples above show that in order to evolve a sound long-term policy to promote and preserve health and prevent disease we must appreciate the various components of environment in which man works and lives. We have to learn to look beyond the individual, first and foremost to family in which he lives, then to his work and play, and to the home and the social, cultural and religious background. Family has to be the unit of work and not the sick individual who first appears at the clinic. The community should form our research, action and the evaluation laboratory. Social action often is more important for the control of disease than the provision of dispensaries and hospitals for the sick. A single administrative action of compulsory inoculation in fairs and festivals against cholera since 1945 has changed the whole epidemiology of Cholera in this State. Provision of a glass of milk and mid-day school meal to school children and food supplements to expectant and nursing mothers in U. K. was a social action

of such a great importance that the health of mothers and children in spite of the war years became much better during the last World War than what it was in peace time before the War, and infant and maternal mortality rates in spite of the abnormal years were considerably lowered. The school child during the War was heavier and taller than the preWar school child. Social action is badly needed in our country to provide the school children with a mid-day cheap but nutritive meal, who are away for nearly eight hours from their homes without any food.

Definition of Health and Disease

WHO have defined health "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity". To me this definition appears to be incomplete. To this definition, I suggest, we may also add, for the reasons indicated above, spiritual well-being or what we may call moral or religious health. The definition then would be more suitable, especially for cultures like ours where faith has great influence of the daily life. Faith still acts as a great soothing balm for our people in calamities such as epidemics. It also acts as a great restraining and correctional force.

Moral health is very important for the survival of a nation. It has also become the need of the day if the hanuman race is to survive. It is moral regeneration which has enabled India to survive every storm and stress through 6,000 years of history. If we are to survive, moral values in our social structure have not only to be protected and preserved but there is need to strengthen them. Fortunately so far religion has been a part of our daily social life and had not to be propagated by priest.

Religious faith and social values, deeply embedded in our social relationships and structure are mainly responsible for maintaining the moral health of the nation. We have hardly any divorces—the rate in India is 2 per 1,000 in each sex as against 7 for males and 13 for females in the U. S. A., and have much less broken and problem families. The use of alcohol, barring a certain very high class and certain Harijan castes, is tabooed among our people. The society demands from the youngsters respect and regard for their elders, especially for the parents, elder relatives and teachers. We feel guilty if we happen to do something undesirable before our elders. The spiritual and social norms prevailing in our society therefore, have been helping to keep our moral fibre and maintain the society healthy. But unfortunately these norms, due to the increased predelection for materialistic values, are changing.

Let us now consider briefly what is disease. Disease is any departure from the normal state of physical or mental health, well-being, or metabolic activity. There are diseases, in the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, incident to poverty, and there are diseases incident to wealth. Poverty breeds sickness and sickness breeds poverty in a vicious circle. But disease not only breeds where poverty prevails but also breeds, though it may be of different type, where wealth flourishes, where there are cracks in social structure, where there is fall in moral values and where man works not as a social being—a socius (fellow or comrade) in a society (group or community)—having an established code of social behaviour, leading a smooth, clean and healthy family life in love and harmony with his family members, neighbours and community and feeling one with them in their joys and sorrows, but leads a life of his own and works

like a machine at a tempo of life under which he breaks and has hardly any time to devote to his wife and children and exists completely isolated in the community.

With the above concepts of health and disease, we need to take into consideration all the contingencies of man during his life-cycle beginning in the womb of the mother till his death, not as an individual but as a member of the family and a member of the society. Previously health promotion of the individual and the family was considered to be man's own personal business. The view now has changed and every child born is a potential community asset and hence should be conserved, protected and developed. This has led to the development of social services to help him to protect and promote his health and feel secured, e.g. maternity and child health services; child guidance clinics; school health services; vocational guidance and training industrial health services; comprehensive medical care through a Health Centre; rehabilitation services; physical, occupational and diversional therapies; health education; adequate food supply; control of arthropod vectors and rodents; safe food and water; proper disposal of human and animal wastes; slum clearance; housing programmes; town and village planning; facilities for play, recreation and physical training; unemployment compensation; old age pension; stabilization of employment; protection of workers from occupational and industrial hazards; maternity leave and benefits; sickness and disability benefits; marriage counselling; population control and propagation of suitable methods of family planning; and social reclamation, etc. This shows the wide sphere in which Public Health has to function now-a-days for the physical, mental and social well-being of the community. This newer and wider concept has led to the evolution

of Social Medicine through the enlargement of Public Health as a social science, and it has added allies in Behavioural and Social sciences viz, Sociology, Social Psychology and Social Anthropology. Social Medicine forms the bridge which connects medicine with Humanities and Social Sciences.

Role of the Women Social Welfare Workers in the Promotion of Health.

The study of social data, through what late Prof J. A. Ryle had called socio-postmortem examination, gives us the clue for social action. The study of social pathology of a disease by investigation of the conditions or circumstances which led to the disease and relationship of the disease to society leads us to social diagnosis and social therapy. We may, then, have to arrange for the aftercare, rehabilitation or readjustment of the lives of the individuals or families disturbed or broken by illness. It is here that the women social welfare worker can help the doctor in the proper understanding of the disease and play an important part in the promotion and restoration of health. To-day the Medical Social Worker has an essential place in the team of a modern hospital. She forms the link between the hospital and the community from which the patient comes and to which he returns. She supplements the medical history by social history. A Medical Social Worker bears the same relationship to the effectiveness of social medicine as does the nurse to clinical medicine. She is now recognised as an essential professional colleague of the doctor in the analysis and correction of the social and emotional factors and is increasingly relied upon for supplying information that is of fundamental importance in formulating the complete diagnosis and in directing the treatment of many patients. As many mental disorders are due to social and

environmental maladjustment, trained psychiatric social workers are essential in the diagnosis and treatment of mental disorders. The Medical Social Worker is also serving in the Family Planning Clinic.

Another woman social welfare worker in the team helping the doctor is the Health Visitor or the Public Health Nurse. She has three functions —(1) to follow-up the cases in home and persuade the defaulters to attend the Health Centre or the Clinic, (2) to provide nursing care in the home, and (3) to carry on a programme of health education and health motivation. She is a very effective agent in bringing health knowledge into the home and serves as a family health counsellor. She combines welfare work with her professional work. Public Health Nurse is very important for the school health services. She picks up the defective and mentally retarded children, follows their progress in the school and in the home, maintains growth record of the individual child, gives treatment for minor ailments in the school and immunises the children against common infectious diseases. She maintains for her welfare work a close contact between the School Medical Officer, the home, the guardian, and the teacher and brings them together whenever necessary. The Health Visitor plays very important role in the maternity and child welfare set-up. India has 3,500 Maternity and Child-welfare Centres and U. P. has 585 but only a few of them have Health Visitor. One Health Visitor, in addition to supervising the work of five midwives, can annually attend to about 200 expectant mothers, 200 infants and about 500 pre-school children. According to the Bhole Committee Report we had ten years back less than 800 Health Visitors and our minimum requirement was 20,000. Efforts are being made to increase

their number. We are training about 200 Health Visitors annually in this State. Wherever she is available, she is working silently and continuously among mothers and young children to prevent disease and promote their health. Her work is soon reflected in the lowering of the Maternal and Infantile Mortality Rates and in raising of the Expectation of Life at birth. How important is her role in this country can be seen from the fact that the I. M. R. in India is more than 100 as against 28.6 in the U. K. and 28.5 in U.S.A. The Maternal Mortality Rate is 20 in India as against 0.9 in U.S.A. The Expectation of Life at Birth in India is only 32.1 years for males and 31.4 years for females as compared to 66.5 years for males and 71.2 years for females in U. K. Forty-four per cent of the total deaths in India are those of children under the age of 5 years, and over half these deaths or 22 per cent are children under one year. This clearly shows that medicine along with other welfare organisations, in service of the society, have to concentrate in our country immediately on the big group of preventable diseases and should prevent untimely death. Sir George Newman had rightly observed, "It is not the event of death which we can escape but the incidence of avoidable invalidity and premature death. It is the enlargement of life and the increase of human capacity, physical and mental, which we seek to ensure". The purpose, therefore, of Social Medicine and the Social Welfare Agencies is to study man within his environment to give life and to give it abundantly.

So far I have touched on the role of the professional social worker who forms an essential part of the medical team. I may now be permitted to say a few words on problems of health where voluntary social workers or other women social welfare workers may

make useful contribution. A very important job which a social welfare worker needs to do in our country is to impart health education to mothers and to school children. The mothers need to be taught about mothercraft, house keeping, home economics, feeding of infants and children balanced diet and improvement of family diet within their budget, prevention of food and water-borne diseases, keeping the environment clean, inculcating healthy habits in the children and getting the children vaccinated against small-pox and tuberculosis if necessary. The mothers need to be told about the importance of family-planning and where they can seek advice so that they can avoid improvident maternity. They should be educated on the need for attending the Maternity Child-Welfare Centre regularly for ante-natal and post-natal care are make full use of the Health Centre. A good thing for all this work would be to organise an Association of Mothers in various *mohallas* or wards and group-meetings arranged at convenient time in which speakers may be invited to address the mothers. In addition, classes may be run on the above subjects and for adult literacy. The Association of Mothers may also be got interested into organising a Children Park and Play Centre and a Children Library in the *mohalla*. Parks and Play Centres are important for the proper emotional and physical development of children. They get in the park open air, sunshine, exercise, company and play and learn to have a team spirit. Annual competitions and functions may be held to give encouragement to children. Children should be entrusted responsibilities in regard to play centre and the library. Instructive film and puppet shows may be arranged for them from time to time. The Moti Lal Nehru Children Centre in Lucknow is running a play centre, a children museum with a section on health and a children library. The

library is run by children who sign and take out books and put them back, and have regular meetings and elect office bearers. A token fee is charged from the members. They have regular film shows and an annual painting and drawing competition.

In the schools illustrated talks on health subjects may be given by the social workers. Mid-day school meal may be organised by having small contribution from the better class of students and subsidised by the management of the school. Skimmed milk, which we are getting as gift from UNICEF, may be distributed. I think time has come when each girl school having more than 200-300 girls should have a Woman Social Welfare Worker or a Public Health Nurse who should organise Junior Red Cross groups in the school, impart training in First Aid and Home Nursing and take classes in mothercraft and sex education for the adolescent girls and attend to the social and emotional problems of the children by keeping contact with the homes, the parents and the teachers. Problem children should be referred by teachers to the Woman Social Welfare Worker.

The Woman Social Welfare Worker can also play a very useful role in the education and rehabilitation of mentally and physically handicapped children, who need psychological, social and vocational services. The Code of Principles drawn up in 1957 by the Conference of World Organisations interested in the handicapped lays that education is an essential element in the preparation of the handicapped for living. The preparation of the handicapped for full or partial vocational independence and for independence of action with regard to their personal social life, is a fundamental part of such an educational programme. To

accomplish this goal the provision of well-trained vocational counselling services and employment placement personnel must be provided.

There is one more problem connected with children's health to which I would like to draw your kind attention. Children are extremely vulnerable to leprosy and if not separated from their leper parents are likely to get the infec-

tion. Children Sanatoria are needed for the infected leper children and Children Preventoria or Homes for isolation of the healthy children. There are hardly any of these in India whereas leprosy is a major public health problem and we have about two million lepers with us. Social workers may consider steps which we need to take to organise special institutions for the children and run them.

FEATURES OF JUVENILE AND ADOLESCENT DELINQUENCY IN INDIAN URBAN SETTINGS

By

S. C. VARMA

Age

"Age appears to have," remarks Sutherland, "an important effect, directly or indirectly, on the frequency and type of crime committed."¹ While children are less likely than adults to be arrested and the older criminals by virtue of their experience and advanced techniques avoid arrest, "the young adults bear the responsibility for more than their share of the crimes which are committed."² The reason for this seems to be that "accountability is almost immediately thrust upon" during adolescence.³ Further, an eight-year-old is less likely to commit a rape or a murder than a nineteen-year-old person. Also, motivations to violate the laws may be different during the childhood than in adulthood. An eleven-year-old may break a law not so much to harm the community as for the fun of it, unlike an older, hardened or a professional criminal.

The juvenile delinquent is also distinguished from the adolescent offender since pre-adolescence and adolescence periods are treated as having different characteristics and problems. Adolescence is the period of transition from childhood and dependency to the period of adulthood

and freedom. Adolescence is said to be marked by "storms and stresses", by tensions and conflicts which, according to Stanley Hall, are of biological rather than social origin. However, cultural factors cannot be overlooked as contributing to the crisis behaviour during adolescence. Mead's studies suggest that "adolescence is not necessarily a period of stress and strain, that these familiar and unlovely symptoms flow from cultural anxieties."⁴ Even the class position of the adolescent may effect his behaviour and attitudes. As Allison Davis remarks, "Lower-class culture....organizes adolescent behaviour with regard to aggression, sexual relations, age roles, and family roles....into patterns which differ radically from those of middle-class adolescents....With regard to a great many goals, what is rewarding to a middle-class adolescent is not at all so to a lower-class adolescent. What they fear, what they abhor, what they desire, what they crave, what they will work for, what they consider valuable or sacred differ in almost every basic area of human relationships."⁵ With regard to physical aggression and physical sexual relations, which are treated as specific problems of adolescence, the author remarks, "The middle-class adolescent is punished for physical aggression and for

1. Sutherland, Edwin H. : "Principles of Criminology" ; J. B. Lippincott Company (Fifth Edn.), New York, 1955, p. 107.
2. Ibid. p. 108.
3. Elliott, Mabel A and Merrill, Francis E. : "Social Disorganization", Harper and Brothers, Publishers, New York, (Third Edn.). 1950, p. 51.
4. Mead, Margaret : "Adolescence in Primitive and in Modern Society" ; Readings in Social Psychology—Ed. by Guy E. Sawnsen, Newcomb, Hartley and others; Holt and Company, New York, 1952, p. 537.
5. Davis, Allison : "The Continuous Socialization of the Individual", Readings in Social Psychology, Ed. by Swanson, Newcomb, Hartley and others; Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1952, pp. 527-528.

physical sexual relations; the lower-class adolescent is frequently rewarded, both socially and organically, for these same behaviours. The degree of anxiety, guilt or frustration attached to these behaviours, therefore, is entirely different in the two cases.”¹ It would thus be unreasonable to treat the period of adolescence inherently as one of crisis and strains, since adolescence may not be equally upsetting in all societies and all classes. And though, as Klineberg remarks, the importance of physiological changes cannot be underestimated, it is the problem of status-role that becomes of particular significance during the period of adolescence.² But much of the confusion, anxiety and uncertainty that is experienced by the adolescent in this respect today is attributable to the increasing complexity and heterogeneity of modern urban and industrialized society. Even the attitude and behaviour signifying revolt, which is at times treated as “typical of youth as natural”, may be attributed to confusion in social values and

compel it of conduct norms that we find in modern society.

Though the use of chronological age as a basis for distinguishing delinquents may be arbitrary, yet, as Tappan remarks, it is “a relevant criterion for distinguishing between antisocial groups, for it is a factor subject to easy verification and one which is highly correlated with specific items of maturity, balance and physical condition...” of the offender.³ Further, delinquents of different age-groups may require differential treatment.

A juvenile delinquent is defined as an offender between seven to fourteen years of age while an offender between fifteen and twenty-one, both years inclusive, has been treated as an adolescent delinquent for the purpose of this study.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their age, in Lucknow and Kanpur :-

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1. Davis, Allison: “The Continuous Socialization of the Individual”; Readings in Social Psychology, Ed. by Swanson, Newcomb, Hartley and others; Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1952, P. 529.
 2. Klineberg, Otto, “Social Psychology”, Henry Holt and Company, New York (Revised Edn.), 1955, P. 364.
 3. Tappan, Paul W., “Juvenile Delinquency”, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc, New York, 1949, p. 13.

Table I

Age (in yrs.)	Lucknow		Kanpur	
	No.	%	No.	%
8	..	..	1	0.67
9	1	0.67	2	1.33
10	2	1.33	2	1.33
11	1	0.67	2	1.33
12	2	1.33	3	2.00
13	3	2.00	5	3.34
14	12	8.00	13	8.67
15	19	12.67	15	10.00
16	27	18.00	30	20.00
17	25	16.67	27	18.00
18	25	16.67	23	15.34
19	20	13.33	12	8.00
20	6	4.00	7	4.66
21	7	4.66	8	5.33
Total	150	100.00	150	100.00

The table reveals that in Lucknow, of the 150 cases, 14.00% delinquents belonged to the juvenile age group while 86.00% were in the adolescent years. Evidently the proportion of adolescent delinquents was significantly higher than juvenile delinquents. Further, 11.33% juvenile delinquents were between 12-14 years and 51.34% adolescent delinquents were in the age group of 16-18 years. The most inflamed age for juvenile delinquency was 14 years, while for adolescent delinquency it was 16 years. This suggests that delinquents were either at the threshold of adolescence or had just entered it. After 16 years,

the number of delinquents starts declining. The average age of juvenile cases comes out to be 12.9 and of adolescent delinquents it is 17.36.

As regards Kanpur, of the 150 cases 18.33% delinquents belonged to the juvenile age group while 81.33% offenders were in the adolescent years. Thus, the proportion of adolescent delinquents was significantly higher than juvenile delinquents. Further 14.01% juvenile delinquents were between 12-14 years of age while 53.34% adolescent offenders were between 16-18 years. The most inflamed age for juvenile delinquency

was 14 years while for adolescent delinquency it was 16 years. The average age of juvenile delinquents comes out to be 12.54 and of adolescent delinquents it is 17.33.

A comparison of Lucknow and Kanpur cases reveals that the proportion of juvenile delinquents was higher in Kanpur than in Lucknow (18.33% : 14.00%). In Lucknow the proportion of adolescent delinquents was higher than adolescent delinquency cases in Kanpur (86.00% : 81.33%). Both in Lucknow and Kanpur the most inflamed age group is 14-18 years, the peak age reaching around 16 years, after which there sets in a decline in the number of delinquents, this decline being sharper after 19 years, more so in Lucknow and Kanpur. The tables also reveal that both in Lucknow and Kanpur the proportion of adolescent delinquents was significantly higher than juvenile delinquents. This finding may warrant the conclusion that either in an industrial city like Kanpur or in a non-industrial city like Lucknow, the problem is more of delinquency during adolescent period than during juvenile period.

Religious and Caste Composition of the Delinquents

Caste in India has existed since times

immemorial. As regards its origin, different theories have been forwarded by various authorities, ranging from Divine Origin to simple Division of Labour explanation.¹ Whatever be the factors responsible for origin of caste system, it is difficult to deny that it has been playing a dominant role in the affairs of Indian society. Though closed groups have existed in other societies also, caste in India typifies social distance in its most extreme form,² based as it is on the principle of birth, and the idea of pollution.³ The latter has relegated vast sections of Hindu society to an underprivileged socio-economic position. Though today the Hindu caste barriers are becoming weak under the impact of the "rail-roads, the taverns, the changing occupational stratification, the concentration of labour through imported industry, colleges"⁴ caste system and social distance created by it have not yet become negligible. It thus becomes imperative to study the religious and caste composition of the delinquents.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their religion and castes, in Lucknow and Kanpur.

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1. Hutton, J.H. : "Caste in India", Cambridge University Press, 1946.
 2. Davis, Kingsley : "Human Society". The Macmillan Company, New York (IV Print), 1952, p. 377.
 3. Weber, Max. : From Max Weber : "Essay in Sociology," Ed. by H.W. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Oxford University Press, New York : (Third Print), 1953, p. 189.
 4. Ibid. p. 397.

Table II

Caste	Lucknow		Kanpur	
	No.	%	No.	%
<i>Hindus</i>				
Upper	37	24.67	35	23.34
Intermediate	32	21.33	37	24.67
Lower	20	13.33	41	27.33
<i>Muslims</i>	54	36.00	32	21.33
<i>Others</i>	7	4.67	5	3.33
Total	150	100.00	150	100.00

The table shows that in Lucknow the proportion of delinquents coming from Hindu castes was significantly higher than those coming from Muslims and Others, viz. Nepalīs, Christians and Sikhs (59.33%: 36.00%: 4.67%). Among Hindus the proportion of delinquents coming from Upper castes was about the same as of those belonging to Intermediate castes (24.67%: 21.33%), while it was significantly higher than those coming from Lower castes (24.67%: 13.33%). The proportion of delinquents from Intermediate castes was also significantly higher than those who belonged to the Lower castes (21.33%: 13.33%). In short, highest number of delinquents among Hindus came from Upper castes, closely followed by Intermediate castes.

As regards the caste composition of delinquents in Kanpur, the table reveals that the proportion of delinquents belonging to Hindu castes was significantly higher than those belonging to Muslim religion or Other castes comprising of Nepalīs, Punjabīs

and Christians (75.34%: 21.33%: 3.33%). Among Hindus, delinquents in about equal proportion came from Upper, Intermediate and Lower Castes, highest proportion being of the delinquents from Lower castes, closely followed by Intermediate castes and Upper castes (27.33%: 24.67%: 23.34%).

Comparing the caste composition of delinquents in Lucknow and Kanpur, it is found that both in Lucknow and Kanpur the proportion of delinquents from Hindu castes was higher than of those who belonged to Muslim religion and to Other castes. It is to be noted that there does not seem to be any significant proportional difference of delinquents coming from Hindu Upper or Intermediate castes in Lucknow and Kanpur (24.67%: 23.34%: 21.33%: 24.67%). However, significantly more delinquents in Kanpur than in Lucknow came from Hindu Lower castes (27.33%: 13.33%). But significantly more delinquents in Lucknow than in Kanpur belonged to Muslim religion (36.00%: 21.33%).

The higher proportion of delinquents from Lower Hindu castes in Kanpur than in Lucknow may be explained in terms of the fact that the former, being an industrial city, has a larger Lower caste population than the latter.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their castes and age-status, in Lucknow :

TABLE III-A

Caste	Age Status				Total
	Juveniles		Adolescents		
	No.	%	No.	%	
<hr/>					
<i>Hindus</i>					
Upper	2	5.41	35	94.59	100.00
					37
Intermediate	3	9.38	29	90.62	100.00
					32
Lower	7	35.00	13	65.00	100.00
					20
<i>Muslims</i>	8	14.82	46	85.18	100.00
					54
<i>Others</i>	1	14.29	6	85.71	100.00
					7
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	21		129		150

The table reveals that juvenile delinquents came largely from Hindu Lower castes (35.00%). As regards adolescent delinquents, their proportion from Hindu Upper castes was highest (94.59%) followed by Interme-

diate caste Hindus (90.62%) and Muslims (85.71%).

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their castes and age status in Kanpur:

TABLE III-B

Caste	Age Status				Total
	Juveniles		Adolescents		
	No.	%	No.	%	
<hr/>					
<i>Hindus</i>					
Upper	3	8.57	32	91.43	100.00
					35
Intermediate	6	16.22	31	83.78	100.00
					37
Lower	12	29.27	29	70.73	100.00
					41
<i>Muslims</i>	7	21.88	25	78.12	100.00
					32
<i>Others</i>	—	—	5	100.00	100.00
					5
<hr/>					
Total	28		122		150

The table shows that juvenile delinquents came mostly from Lower Hindu castes (29.27%) followed by Muslims (21.89%). As regards the adolescent delinquents, they came in highest proportion from Hindu Upper castes (91.43) followed by Intermediate castes (83.78%) and Muslims (78.12%).

A comparison of the two tables indicates that both in Lucknow and

Kanpur, juvenile delinquents came largely from Hindu Lower castes, while adolescent delinquents came largely from Hindu Upper castes.

Nature of Offences (Present)

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the nature of offences at the time of inquiry, in Lucknow and Kanpur :

TABLE IV

Nature of offences	Lucknow		Kanpur	
	No.	%	No.	%
I—Against				
Property :—				
(a) Theft	76	50.66	50	33.33
(b) Pickpocketing	10	6.67	20	13.33
(c) House Trespass	4	2.67	4	2.67
(d) House Breaking	5	3.33	—	—
Total	95	63.33	74	49.33
II—Against				
Person :—				
(a) Fozdari	6	4.00	3	2.00
(b) Assault	3	2.00	—	—
(c) Murder	—	—	1	0.67
Total	9	6.00	4	2.67
III—Against				
Sex :—				
(a) Kidnapping	2	1.33	2	1.33
(b) Rape	1	0.67	2	1.33
Total	3	2.00	4	2.66
IV—Against Special				
Acts and Sections :—				
(a) Gambling	7	4.67	15	10.00
(b) Vagrancy	31	20.67	21	14.00
(c) Excise	—	—	28	18.66
(d) Food Adulteration	5	3.33	4	2.67
Total	43	28.67	68	45.33
Grand Total	150	100.00	150	100.00

The above table reveals that in Lucknow the more common offences were against Property (63.33%), theft being the most common in this group of offences (50.66%). The next largest number of delinquents was of those who were convicted for the violation of various Special Acts and Section viz. the Gambling Act, the Vagrancy Section and the Pure Foods Act (28.67%), the violation of the Vagrancy Section being the most common (20.67%) in this group of offences.

In Kanpur, of the 150 cases, the proportion of delinquents convicted for offences against Property was highest (49.33%), theft being the most common offence (33.33%) in this category of offences. The next largest number of delinquents was of those who were convicted for the violation of the Special Acts (45.33%), the violation of the Excise Act being more common than the violation of Gambling Act or Vagrancy Section (18.66% : 10.00% : 18.66% : 14.00%). This finding becomes interesting in the light of the fact that Kanpur is an area of prohibition.

A comparison of Lucknow and Kanpur cases reveals that in both the places delinquents convicted for offences against Property were in highest proportion, followed by those convicted for the violation of Special Acts and Section. Theft was the most common offence in the 'against Property' group of offences, more common in Lucknow than in Kanpur (50.66% : 33.33%) while pickpocketing was more common in Kanpur than in Lucknow (13.33% : 6.67%). On the whole offences against Property were more common in Lucknow than in Kanpur (63.33% : 49.33%). It was the proportion of delinquents convicted for the violation of Special Acts and Section which was higher in Kan-

pur than in Lucknow (45.33% : 28.67%). In this group of offences, gambling was more common in Kanpur than in Lucknow (10.00% : 4.67%), vagrancy more common in Lucknow than in Kanpur (20.67% : 14.00%), while the violation of the Excise Act was solely confined to Kanpur.

It is interesting to note that both in Lucknow and Kanpur significantly fewer delinquents were convicted for offences against Person and offences against Sex. In Lucknow 6.00% delinquents were convicted for offences against Person, while the percentage of the same in Kanpur was 2.00. In about equal proportion delinquents were convicted for offences against Sex in Lucknow and Kanpur (2.00% : 2.66%). One of the interpretations of such a small percentage of sexual offences may be that "practically all crimes against Property (and many others besides) are committed against a victim or group of victims who can be clearly identified, and who are free from all complicity, but in the case of sexual offences the relationship is much more complex and indefinable." The offences against Sex are less likely to be brought into official notice than offences against property or for that matter, offences against person.

Number of Previous Offences

All modern penal reform is aiming at the rehabilitation of the delinquents as useful members of the society through checking the repetition of crime, which is as important and necessary as prevention of crime. It is, therefore, necessary to study the incidence of Recidivism among delinquents.

The following table sets out the distribution of delinquents according to the number of previous offences, in Lucknow and Kanpur:

TABLE V

Number of Previous Offences	Lucknow		Kanpur	
	No.	%	No.	%
0	126	84.00	123	82.00
1	21	14.00	22	14.67
2	3	2.00	2	1.33
3	—	—	3	2.00
4 & more	—	—	—	—
Total	150	100.00	150	100.00

The tabel reveals that of 150 cases in Lucknow 84.00% delinquents had no previous offence, that is they were First offenders at the time of inquiry, while the percentage of the same was 82.00 in Kanpur.

In Lucknow 16.00% delinquents were recidivists, that is, they had one or more than one previous offences, while in Kanpur 18.00% delinquents were recidivists. It is thus evident that both in Lucknow and Kanpur the proportion of First offenders was significantly higher than of the recidivists.

Further, the maximum number of previous offences in Lucknow was 2 while in Kanpur it was 3, there being

no case having more than 3 previous offences in either city. It is noteworthy that the proportion of Recidivists with 1 previous offence only was significantly higher than those having more than 1 previous offence in Lucknow (14.00% : 2.00%) and also in Kanpur (14.67% : 3.33%).

Age and Nature of Offences

A more detailed analysis of the nature of Present offences, number of Previous offences, delinquents' age status and caste is now attempted.

The following table sets out the distribution of delinquents according to their Age status and Nature of Present Offences, in Lucknow :

TABLE VI-A

Age Status	Nature of offences						Total	
	Property	Person	Sex	Gambling	Vagrancy	Food Adulteration		
Juveniles	66.67	..	..	4.76	28.57	..	100.00
	14			1	6		21	
Adolescents	62.79	6.98	2.33	4.65	19.38	3.87	100.00	
	81	9	3	6	25	5	129	
Total	..	95	9	3	7	31	5	150

The table reveals that as regards the offences against Property, there is no significant differences in the proportion of Juveniles and Adolescents convicted for these offences (66.67% : 62.79%). The same is true of the juveniles and adolescents convicted for gambling (4.76% : 4.65%). It was the violation of the Vagrancy Section for which more juveniles than adolescents were convicted (28.57% : 19.38%).

against Person and against Sex were confined to the delinquents in adolescent age group there being no case of a juvenile delinquent convicted for these offences. The same is true of the offences against the Pure Food Act, the violation of which was also confined to the adolescent delinquents.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their Age-status and Nature of Present Offences in Kanpur.

It is to be noted that offences

TABLE VI-B

Age Status	Nature of offences							Total	
	Property	Person	Sex	Gambling	Vag-rancy	Excise	Food Adulteration		
Juveniles	71.14	..	..	3.57	10.71	10.71	3.57	100.00
	20			1	3	3	1	28	
Adolescents	44.26	3.28	3.28	11.48	14.75	20.49	2.46	100.00	
	54	4	4	14	18	25	3	122	
Total	..	74	4	4	15	21	28	4	150

The table reveals that in the group of offences against Property, the proportion of juvenile delinquents was significantly higher than adolescent delinquents (71.14% : 44.26%). In the group of offences against the Gambling Act, the proportion of adolescent delinquents was significantly higher than juvenile delinquents (11.48% : 3.57%) and also in the group of offences against the Excise Act (20.49% : 10.71%). There was no significant proportional difference between juveniles and adolescents convicted for Vagrancy (10.71% : 14.75%).

The offences against Person and Sex, as was the case in Lucknow, were confined to the delinquents in adolescent years.

A comparison of the two tables shows that significantly more juveniles in Kanpur than in Lucknow were convicted for offences against Property (71.14% : 66.67%) while more juveniles in Lucknow than in Kanpur were convicted for Vagrancy (28.57% : 10.71%). As regards the adolescent delinquents, significantly more adolescents in Lucknow than in Kanpur were convicted for offences against Property (62.79% : 44.26%) while significantly more adolescents in Kanpur than in Lucknow were convicted for Gambling (11.48% : 4.65%). There was no such marked differences with regard to adolescent delinquents convicted for Vagrancy in Lucknow and Kanpur (19.38% : 14.75%).

It will not be out of place to mention here in brief the circumstances which are responsible for the arrest of most of the boys for the violation of the Excise and Pure Food Acts.

As regards Excise cases, it is interesting to note that either some one in

the delinquent's family or in his neighbourhood sends the boy to the fixed place to fetch him the prohibited drink. In either case, the boy is assured of a tip of four to eight annas, a temptation which he resists by "yielding to it". However, if the luck does not favour him, he runs into an Excise Inspector or a Police Constable while on his way back with the liquor, tincher-jinger or crude alcohol hidden in his clothes or the handbag. Mention should also be made of the circumstances quite different from those given above which lead to a boy's conviction for the violation of the Excise Act. The Police Constable may hold up a shabby-looking boy, or a rickshaw-puller around 12 O'clock at night, demand some money from him and in case the money is refused, may take him to 'Thana' where the contraband liquor, ganja, charas or opium is 'produced' rather than recovered from his person. Evidently, in neither of the two types of circumstances mentioned above, is the boy responsible for the violation of the Prohibition laws.

As to the violation of Pure Foods Act by the juvenile and adolescents, it was observed that these delinquents were found hawking edibles purchased from some petty halwai shop or prepared in their own homes. If the Excise Inspector happened to check these edibles and find them adulterated, it were these boys who were arrested and no one else. The same happened in cases who were out to sell milk from their home-dairy. It is plain that these boys were hardly responsible for food adulteration. In two cases, the delinquents were keeping the small shop of their father's in the noon-time, father being off to home for his mid-day meal, when they were arrested by the Excise Inspector on finding the 'ghee' to be adulterated.

Caste and Nature of Offences

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their castes and nature of Present offences, in Lucknow.

TABLE VII-A.

Caste	Nature of offences.						Total
	Property	Person	Sex	Gambling	Vagrancy	Food Adultration	
Upper	62.17 23	10.81 4	2.70 1	2.70 1	16.21 6	5.41 2	100.00 37
Inter.	68.75 22	—	—	9.37 3	18.75 6	3.13 1	100.00 32
Lower	60.00 12	10.00 2	5.00 1	—	20.00 4	5.00 1	100.00 20
Muslims	84.81 35	5.56 3	1.85 1	5.56 3	20.37 11	1.85 1	100.00 54
Others	42.86 3	—	—	—	57.14 4	—	100.00 7
Total	95	9	3	7	31	5	150

The table reveals that in the 'against Property' group of offences, the proportion of delinquents who were Muslims was highest (84.81%) followed by Intermediate caste Hindus (68.75%). Among Hindus, the proportional difference of delinquents who had record of offences against Property, in Upper and Lower castes is not significant (62.17%: 60.00%).

As regards the offences against Person, delinquents in about equal proportion from Upper and Lower Hindu castes were convicted for these offences (10.81%: 10.00%). The percentage of delinquents from Muslims, who had a record of offence against Person was only 5.56% there being no case in this group of offences

from Intermediate Hindu caste and Other castes.

The proportion of offenders convicted for offences against Sex was highest in Lower Hindu castes, closely followed by Hindu Upper castes and Muslims (5.00%: 2.70%: 1.85%). However, the proportional difference in each of these caste groups with reference to offences against Sex is not significant.

Coming to the violation of the Special Acts and taking Gambling cases into consideration, it is revealed that there were significantly more gambling cases from Hindu Intermediate castes than from Hindu Upper castes (9.37%: 2.70%) or from Muslims

(9.37%: 5.56%), there being no case of gambling from Hindu Lower castes and Other castes.

As regards the Vagrancy cases, they were more or less equitably distributed in each caste group, excepting Other Castes in which their proportion was highest (57.14%). Among Hindus, however, the table indicates a higher proportion of vagrants from Lower castes than from Upper castes (20.00%:16.21%). It is to be noted that juveniles came more from Lower castes than from Upper castes (Table no. III-A) and also that there were more vagrants among juveniles than adolescents (Table no. VI-A).

Finally, the proportion of cases

convicted for the violation of Pure Foods Act was highest among delinquents from Upper Hindu castes. There is, however, no significant difference in the proportion of such cases coming from each caste group.

To sum up, the proportion of delinquents convicted for offences against Property was higher than those convicted for other offences in each caste group, excepting the 'other' castes. Next to offences against Property, Vagrancy was the most common offence in each caste group.

The following table sets out the distribution of delinquents according to their castes and nature of offences, at Kanpur :

TABLE VII-B

Caste	Nature of offences							Total
	Property	Person	Sex	Gambling	Vag- rancy	Ex- cise	Food Adul- teration	
Upper	45.71 16	—	—	8.57 3	20.00 7	20.00 7	5.72 2	100.00 35
Inter.	51.35 19	—	5.41 2	2.70 1	10.81 4	24.32 9	5.41 2	100.00 37
Lower	34.15 14	7.32 3	4.88 2	14.63 6	17.07 7	21.95 9	—	100.00 41
Muslims	68.75 22	3.12 1	— —	15.63 5	3.12 1	9.38 3	—	100.00 32
Others	60.00 3	—	—	—	40.00 2	—	—	100.00 5
Total	74	4	4	15	21	28	4	150

The above table reveals that as regards the offences against Property, the proportion of delinquents convicted for these offences was highest among Muslims (68.75%). Among Hindus, significantly more delinquents came from Intermediate castes than from Lower castes (51.35%: 34.15%) or Upper castes (51.35%:45.71%). The Percentage of delinquents from Other castes in this group of offences was 60.00%.

The offences against Person were confined to delinquents from Lower Hindu castes (7.32%) and Muslims (3.12%). The proportional difference is not significant.

The offences against Sex were confined to Intermediate Hindu castes and Lower castes. The proportional difference is not significant (5.41% : 4.88%).

As regards the violation of the Special Acts, and Section the proportion of gambling cases was about equal in Muslim and Lower Hindu castes (15.63% : 14.63%). Among Hindus, significantly more gambling cases came from Lower castes than from Intermediate castes (14.63% : 2.70%) or Upper castes (14.63% : 8.57%).

As regards the Vagrancy cases, the table reveals that the proportion of these was highest in Upper Hindu castes (20.00%), followed by Vagrancy cases from Lower castes (17.07%), though the proportional difference is not significant, and Intermediate castes (10.81%). Of Muslims, only 3.12% delinquents were convicted for Vagrancy.

The cases of violation of the Excise Act were distributed without any significant proportional difference in

the Hindu Intermediate, Lower and Upper castes. The percentage of Excise cases among Muslims was 9.38%.

Finally, the cases of food adulteration were confined to Hindu Upper and Lower castes, which were equally distributed in each of these castes (5.72%:5.41%).

A Comparison of the two tables reveals that while in Lucknow the proportion of delinquents convicted for offences against Property was higher than those convicted for other offences in each caste group, excepting the Other castes, in Kanpur it was higher only in Intermediate Hindu castes, Muslims and Others. In Kanpur, the proportion of lads convicted for offences other than Property was higher than those convicted for offences against Property in Hindu Upper and Lower castes. It is to be noted that the proportion of lads convicted for offences against Property was highest among Muslims, followed by Intermediate Hindu castes, in either city. Further, while in Lucknow, vagrancy was the most common offence next to offences against Property in each caste group, in Kanpur next to offences against Property came the violation of the Excise Act in each caste group, excepting the Muslims, among whom gambling was the most common offence next to offences against Property. The third most common offence in each caste group was vagrancy, excepting Muslims.

It is also interesting to note that offences against Person in Lucknow were confined to Lower Hindu castes, Upper castes and Muslims; in Kanpur, they were confined to Lower Hindu castes and Muslims. Offences against Sex in Lucknow were confined to Hindu Upper and Lower castes and Muslims; in Kanpur, they were confined to Hindu Lower and Intermedi

ate castes. There was no case of gambling from Hindu Lower castes and other castes in Lucknow, while in Kanpur it were only the other castes which had no gambling case. Vagrancy cases were found in each caste both in Lucknow and Kanpur. Excise cases were confined to Kanpur only. Finally, while the food adulteration cases, in Lucknow, were found in each caste, excepting other castes, in Kan-

pur they were confined to Hindu Upper and Intermediate castes.

Age and Number of Previous Offences

The following table sets out the distribution of delinquents according to their age status and number of Previous Offences in Lucknow :—

TABLE VIII-A.

Age Status	Number of offences					Total
	0	1	2	3	4 and more	
Juveniles	90.48 19	9.52 2	—	—	—	100.00 21
Adolescents	82.95 107	14.73 19	2.32 3	—	—	100.00 129
Total	126	21	3	—	—	150

The table reveals that the proportion of delinquents who had no previous offence, that is, who were first offenders, was significantly higher among juveniles than adolescents (90.48%: 82.95%). It was the proportion of Recidivists, having 1 or more than 1 previous offences, which was significantly higher among Adoles-

cents than Juveniles (17.05%: 9.52%). Also, among Juveniles there was no recidivist having more than 1 previous offence.

The following table sets out the distribution of delinquents according to their Age status and Number of Previous offences in Kanpur :

TABLE VIII-B.

Age Status	Number of previous offences					Total
	0	1	2	3	4 and more	
Juveniles	89.29 25	3.57 1	3.57 1	3.57 1	—	100.00 28
Adolescents	80.33 98	17.21 21	0.82 1	1.64 2	—	100.00 122
Total	123	22	2	3	—	150

It is evident from the table that significantly more juveniles than adolescents had no previous offence, that is they were first offenders (89.29%: 80.33%), while significantly more adolescents than juveniles had 1 or more than 1 previous offences (19.67%: 10.71%).

Comparing the two tables we find that both in Lucknow and Kanpur the proportion of Recidivists was higher among Adolescents than Juvenile offenders. However, whereas in Lucknow there was no case of a juvenile delinquent having more than 1 previ-

ous offence, in Kanpur the maximum number of previous offences among Juveniles was 3. This indicates that in Kanpur it was not only the proportion of Juvenile delinquents which was higher than in Lucknow (Table no. 1), but also the maximum number of previous offence was higher among Juveniles in Kanpur than in Lucknow.

Caste and Number of Previous Offences

The following Table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their castes and number of Previous offences in Lucknow :

Table IX-A.

Castes	0	1	Number of offences		4 & more	Total
			2	3		
Hindus	83.78	16.22	—	—	—	100.00
Upper	31	6				37
Inter	84.38	15.62	—	—		100.00
	27	5	—	—		32
Lower	70.00	20.00	10.00	—	—	100.00
	14	4	2	—	—	20
Muslims	88.89	9.26	1.85	—	—	100.00
	48	5	1	—	—	54
Others	85.71	14.29	—	—	—	100.00
	6	1				7
Total	126	21	3	—	—	150

The above table shows that the proportion of First offenders was significantly higher than recidivists in each caste group, highest being in Muslims (88.89%: 11.11%), followed by Hindu Intermediate castes (84.38%: 15.62%) and Upper castes (83.78%: 16.22%). As regards the proportion of Recidivists, it was highest in Lower Hindu

castes (30.00%). The proportional difference of Recidivists in Lower castes and Muslims (30.00%: 11.11%) or Intermediate castes (30.00%: 15.62%) or Upper castes (30.00%: 16.22%) is significant. In short, more recidivists came from Lower castes than from the rest of the castes.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their castes and number of offences in Kanpur:—

TABLE IX-B.

Caste	Number of offences					Total
	0	1	2	3	4 & more	
Upper	85.71 30	8.57 3	2.86 1	2.86 1	—	100.00 35
Inter.	89.19 33	10.81 4	—	—	—	100.00 37
Lower	80.48 33	12.20 5	2.44 1	4.88 2	—	100.00 41
Muslims	75.00 24	25.00 8	—	—	—	100.00 32
Others	60.00 3	40.00 2	—	—	—	100.00 5
Total	123	22	2	3	—	150

It is evident from the Table that the proportion of First offenders was higher than recidivists in each caste, highest being in Hindu Intermediate castes (89.19%), followed by Upper castes (85.71%) and Lower castes (80.48%). As regards the Recidivists, they came mostly from Muslims (25.00%), followed by Lower Caste Hindus (19.52%) and Upper Castes (14.29%).

A comparison of these two Tables indicates that proportion of First Offenders was higher than Recidivists in each caste group in either city, with the difference that whereas in Lucknow Recidivists came more from Lower Castes than the remaining

castes, in Kanpur Recidivists came more from Muslims and Lower castes than the rest of the castes. That in both the cities the proportion of Recidivists was lesser in Upper castes than Lower castes may be due to the reason that in Upper castes the rehabilitation of an offender is easier than among Lower castes after the first offence due to the former's better social status in the community.

Nature of Offence and Number of Previous Offences

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the nature of offences and number of previous offences in Lucknow:

TABLE X-A.

No. of offences	Nature of Offences						Total
	Property	Person	Sex	Gambling	Vagrancy	Food Adultration	
0	61.91 78	7.14 9	2.38 3	2.38 3	22.22 28	3.97 5	100.00 126
1	66.67 14	—	—	19.05 4	14.28 3	—	100.00 21
2	100.00 3	—	—	—	—	—	100.00 3
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 & more	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	95	9	3	7	31	5	150

The Table reveals that of the total number of 126 delinquents who were First Offenders, most of them (61.91%) were convicted for offences against Property. The next larger number of First Offenders had a record of offence against Vagrancy Section.

As regards the offenders having 1 previous offence, highest number of them were convicted for offences against Property (66.67%). The next larger number of delinquents in this category of Recidivists was of those who were convicted for the violation of the Gambling Act (19.05%) followed by Vagrancy cases (14.28%).

As regards the Recidivists having 2 previous offences, all were convicted for offences against Property. Thus, as was the case with First Offenders, most of the Recidivists were previously convicted for offences against Property.

It is to be noted that all the delinquents convicted for offences against Person, against Sex and against the Pure Foods Act were First Offenders.

The following Table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the nature of Present Offences and the number of Previous Offences, in Kanpur :

TABLE X-B.

No of offences	Nature of Offences							Total
	Property	Person	Sex	Gambling	Vagrancy	Excise	Food adul- tration	
0	47.16 58	3.25 4	2.44 3	11.38 14	13.01 16	19.51 24	3.25 4	100.00 123
1	59.09 13	—	4.55 1	—	18.68 4	18.68 4	—	100.00 22
2	100.00 2	—	—	—	—	—	—	100.00 2
3	33.33 1	—	—	33.33 1	33.33 1	—	—	100.00 3
4 & more	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	74	4	4	15	21	28	4	150

The table reveals that of the total number of 123 First Offenders, that is the delinquents who had no previous offence at the time of inquiry, 47.16% had a record of offence against Property. The next larger number of first offenders was of those who were convicted for the violation of the Excise Act (19.51%) followed by those convicted for Vagrancy (13.01%) or Gambling (11.38%).

As regards the offenders having 1 previous offence, more than half of them (59.09%) were convicted for offences against Property. The proportion of the Excise and Vagrancy cases was equal (18.18% : 18.18%). among these Recidivists. All the recidivists having 2 previous offences were convicted for offences against Property. Lastly, recidivists with 3 previous offences were equally distributed in the 'against Property', 'against Gam-

bling Act' and 'against Vagrancy Section offences.'

On comparing the two tables it is found that whereas in Lucknow the proportion of First Offenders convicted for offences against Property was higher than those convicted for other offences (61.91% : 38.09%), in Kanpur significantly more First Offenders were convicted for offences other than against Property (52.84% : 47.16%). But most of the recidivists were convicted for offences against Property, in either city. Further, all the delinquents convicted for offences against Person and the Pure Foods Act were first offenders in either city. Lastly, whereas in Lucknow all the offenders convicted for offences against Sex had no previous offences, in Kanpur there was 1 case in this group of offenders who had 1 previous offence.

The problem of juvenile and adolescent delinquency cannot be considered in isolation, but as one of a number of associated pathologies and adult violations of social norms and regulations. Among these are prostitution and other sexual irregularities; gambling, intemperance and clandestine trade in narcotics as well as dishonesty and corruption of the Police whose duty it is to enforce the laws of the State.

Many of the wayside restaurants and hotels are hotbeds of adult criminality and misbehaviour, and employ a considerable number of 'teen-agers' and even boys as young as seven years old. Some of these restaurants operate as clandestine bars, having cabins or an antechamber for 'regular' customers. The procedure is a familiar one. The customer enters the restaurant, sits outside for a while at a table and sips tea while giving his 'order' in a whispered tone. He then quietly slips into one of these cabins or interior rooms, unnoticed. The waiter, usually a boy of seventeen or eighteen, enters with a bottle hidden under his shirt and some edibles. The furniture of room comprises a dirty table, a few chairs and a picture or two of some actresses on its walls. The light is dim. The waiter goes out of the cabin, closing the doors behind him. The customer finishes off his drinks in a most unlesurely fashion, makes the payment which includes Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 as the 'black' money for the prohibited bottle and slips out of the restaurant most unceremoniously. It is rare that credit is granted to any of these customers.

Some of these wayside hotels operate also as gambling dens and places of clandestine prostitution. There is a room which is usually kept vacant for these purposes. Touts are "attached"

to these hotels who take their "orders" from here and the "dishes" are brought to the customer's room or to that vacant room not only in the dusk of the evening but also, at times, during the day. It also happens that the man brings his own woman, stays in the hotel for a few hours or a night and usually it is the woman who leaves the hotel first. If it be day light, the woman is brought either by the customer himself or the tout along with some luggage suggesting the arrival of a family. The tout either accompanies the woman or follows her shortly after in another rickshaw or a cycle and stays in a hotel till she leaves the hotel without any trouble or fuss. Everything is prearranged—the room, the time, the food, the 'rates', the tout's tips and the T. A. for both. If the customer or customers were to disapprove the "dish", no payment is made to either, except some refreshments and T.A. on which the hotel manager may himself insist or may pay from his own pocket. In the latter case, he makes necessary adjustments in the customer's bill which if resented by the customer, are never insisted upon by the manager. For it is never in the interests of the hotel to have a "scene" for obvious reasons of security and "reputation".

These hotels are patronised by persons who hesitate to go to brothels for the fear of an exposure or an infection. It is interesting to note that these patrons usually belong to the business class—travelling salesmen, insurance agents, representatives of outside firms, local shop-keepers and the like. Some of these 'big' men of the city own two sets of residences, one of which is reserved for such clandestine immoralities. At times the woman who is brought to such places belongs to a respectable family. In one case it was revealed that the girl, of about

sixteen years of age, was living with her parents, two elder brothers and one younger sister, father working as a compounder and earning about Rs. 75 per month and living in a fairly good locality. The parents were in full knowledge of her adventures and an utter lack of objection on anyone's part, excepting when she would return late at night, suggested their approval of her immoral conduct.

Much was learnt about such clandestine delinquencies of the adult from a person whose friendship was picked up during the course of field work. He was a widower of about thirty-three and was working as a store-keeper at a local petrol station on Rs. 60 per month. After attending the office for an hour or so, he would come to the hotel and while away his time for hours together eating and taking tea and gossiping with the waiters, the boarders or the manager. He had huge credit at each shop in the locality and was rarely punctual in clearing it. He had two younger brothers who were studying in higher classes, dressed well and dined well. He was in the habit of taking bribes and stealing petrol and selling it in "black". He was an opium addict of seven years standing, prior to which he used to take liquor, 'bhang', 'ganja' and 'charas' and other intoxicants. According to his own version which was supported by his brothers, he had started taking these things during his parents' lifetime but developed addiction after the death of his wife. It was in his company that many places of clandestine prostitution, bars and gambling dens were visited. He introduced me to the techniques of illicit trade in intoxicants. It was revealed that certain 'big' men of the city organise the entire trade and these intoxicants can be had from certain betel shops or a person sitting on the pavements of certain dark and narrow lanes.

It must be stated that many of the rickshaw-pullers and tonga drivers operate as agents, procurers and touts of such shady establishments, earning a tip of Rs. 5/- to Rs. 10/- per service rendered to a customer. Evidently, it is an amount which they fail to earn with all their honest and hard labour of day and night. Perhaps for the same reason it is not difficult to find a homosexual among these rickshaw-pullers, many of whom are in their teens, far away from their native village of some Eastern district. These Eastern districts like Gonda, Basti and Ballia are poverty-stricken areas, a fact which accounts for the migration of large number of young men to cities in search of some work. But due to the dearth of jobs on the one hand and their illiteracy on the other, they are forced to work as casual labourers, domestic servants and rickshaw-pullers. It was revealed that the rates of a homosexual rickshaw-puller ranged between Rs. 2/- to Rs. 7/- per indecency indulged in, the reason being economic hardship and poverty.

It is surprising that even the places where criminals and delinquents are kept are not free from corruption and immorality as illustrated by the following case :—

A boy of 14 years of age, belonging to a broken Khatri family was convicted for vagrancy. It was his first night in the prison cell. Around midnight the boy woke up to find that someone had crouched under his blanket and was "teasing" him. The boy "did not like it" and was about to shout that the intruder slipped out threatening punishment. And, indeed, the next day he was given three baton strokes on the hips and back by the warder who was going off duty on the pretext that the boy was very lazy! The second night same thing happened but this time the boy was too frigh-

tened to resist the warder's advances. For the same reason, later when some of the inmates of the barrack committed gross indecencies with him, he had no courage to report the matter to higher authorities.

It is shocking that the Police, whose duty it is to check vice and criminality, participate in them. In fact, shady establishments and pursuits are a regular source of income to them. In certain instances it seems to have become the part of duty of the constable to give prior information to the owner of a clandestine bar or a gambling den about the inspection visit of a higher officer from the headquarters, a service which is amply rewarded by the owner of such an establishment in addition to the usual daily or fortnightly tip of Re. 1/- to Rs. 5/-. It is not only an ordinary constable but at times his station-in-charge is also involved in such shady transactions.

It is difficult to expect a healthy home under such conditions of urban life. The following cases may be taken as illustrations:—

The delinquent came from a home in which it was a matter of common knowledge that his father, who was working as a clerk, was in the habit of taking bribes during the course of his official duty. In fact, his mother used to ask him about the "day's earnings" and at times when he would return home without good vegetables or some sweets for the children, she would start nagging him. His father would reply "What am I to do? Did not get a pice today", punctuating his reply with his usual profanity. If she remained unconvinced, she would start searching his pockets, children standing around with deep expectations. At times, the mother would advise the children, "Your father is in a hopeless job. It brings him no good income. I would

like you to take up a job which would be a good source of income."

Take this case. The delinquent is of seventeen years of age and has been convicted for the violation of the Pure Foods Act. He has father, mother and three elder brothers and two younger sisters, all the whom are reasonably well adjusted to each other. The family owns a small dairy having four buffaloes and two cows. All the brothers go out to sell milk, father staying at home. Now, water is mixed in milk in the presence of all the children; and whenever some purchaser complains about the quality of milk, the invariable answer, given on oath, is "there is no water at all in the milk; you can get it tested and do not pay if there be water in it." A point-blank lie! The Excise Inspector had been bribed a number of times and no one was put on trial. This time, however, the delinquent did not have "ready money" on his person, and was consequently arrested for adulteration of milk.

This is the sub-culture of our urban community today, more so of an industrial town like Kanpur. It is in such noxious atmosphere that we find some of our children living and growing, struggling to find their ways of life. They are but dimly aware of higher values and rules of conduct and find them ignored and violated by adults everywhere—in the neighbourhood, in companionship group, at places of recreation and places of work, in the home and by the custodians of law and order. The glaring contradictions of our urban life baffle them and make them doubt and question the validity of the norms of society. The most serious problem from the standpoint of long range social control and social conformity is the absence of role models who can give these children and adolescents a consistent set of

goals which will prove rewarding to them. The most successful adults in the neighbourhood or an office or a business concern may be those who owe their higher economic and social status to illegal practices and procedures. It is difficult to expect a child growing up in such conditions to inter-

nalize the traditional norms of wider social life, exposed as he is to such direct or indirect suggestions to misbehaviour and delinquency. It may be said that the delinquents are the boys who have succeeded in adjusting themselves to the "disvalues" of the modern urban community.

STREET DWELLERS OF KANPUR

By

J. S. TEWARI

The present investigation of the "Street Dwellers, the Houseless Population" in Kanpur includes 1,000 cases studied by the direct personal interviews on the basis of random sampling. The average total number of street dwellers of all seasons comes to 10,000 persons and 10 percent of them have been selected as sample. Among them, 822 men, 93 women and 85 children-boys and girls, below 18 years of age have been studied. These Street Dwellers include only those persons who have no dwelling place and do not pay any house rent. Their employment and income both are irregular and uncertain. They are engaged either in day to day work or in begging. Consequently they are compelled to live on the pavement along the road sides in the open. Agriculture does not provide them full employment all round the year. It is a seasonal work and after the sowing or harvesting season a huge mass of humanity is rendered jobless. Thus they migrate to the city of Kanpur for some months to supplement their income. They leave their wives, children and other dependents in the villages and remit them money regularly. Being unskilled they cannot be employed in mills and factories. They are engaged in some casual work which is quite temporary. They are almost single individuals with no belongings. Thus they can very easily sleep on the footpaths, on various ghats and places during night. Their main aim is to save as much as possible even out of their meagre income hence they are not very much particular about some residential quarters which are not available even by paying high rents.

General Housing Situation in Kanpur

Kanpur, which is proverbially known as the Manchester of India, is by far the most important industrial centre in Northern India. It is over crowded and insanitary. Very little attention was paid until recently to the problem of housing the large and rapidly increasing population. Haphazard industrial development and expansion of factories in the very heart of the city have resulted in serious overcrowding. Owing to the two World Wars, business activities expanded, several new industries were set up and ahatas and labour bustees came into being like mush-rooms all over the city. The partition of the country further aggravated the housing problem. According to the census of 1951, the population of Kanpur is 7,05,383. The house tax records of 1954 of the Municipal Board reveal that there are 1,36,175 families in Kanpur. People have constantly been migrating from the rural areas to Kanpur in search of employment.

Kanpur has a record of 271 factories employing 68,619 workers on an average per day. The number of residential units available in Kanpur is 93,212 only. The enormous growth of population without a corresponding increase in the number of residential units gave rise to a class properly known as "Street Dwellers of Kanpur". Thousands of people who are engaged in day to day work and have no regular source of income to pay the sky high rents of the dark and dingy hovels find a dwelling place on the Kanpur pavements all over the city.

They include labourers, beggars and destitutes. Such casual labourers migrate to the city for six to nine months generally when they are free from agricultural work in rural areas. As sowing or harvesting season approaches, they again go back to villages. Thus their number on the Kanpur pavements quite deserted during busy season of agricultural activities in rural areas and then the number of Street Dwellers is reduced to only 3000. Thus the average of both, busy and slack seasons comes to 10,000 and 10 percent of this or 1,000 cases of these Street Dwellers constitute the bulk of the present enquiry. The main ecological zone of the Street Dwellers of Kanpur are Collectorganj (Railway Station area and Mandi), Darana (Canal zone), Moolganj (business and brothel area) the Embankment zone of various ghats and other minor zones of Street Dwellers near bigger labour ahatas or slums.

Classification of Street Dwellers According to Income, Occupation and Employment

These Street Dwellers, men, women and children have been grouped into two broad divisions i.e. labourers - 75 percent and the disabled and the destitutes, 25 percent. The labourers are further classified into Rikshaw-pullers, Jhalliwalas, Thela-pullers and other miscellaneous workers. The average income of a Street Dweller of Kanpur is Rs. 1-6-3 per diem. The majority of Street Dwellers is found in the age group of 25 years to 50 years and two age groups 50 years to 30 years and 30 years to 35 years are the peak years regarding their number. Out of the total 88.5% are males and 11.5% are females. There are 58.9% Hindus, 39.9% Muslims and 1.2% people of other communities among the Street Dwellers of Kanpur.

Hindus include 18% High caste, 30.7% Intermediate castes, 51.3% Lower caste people. The average daily income of Hindus is Rs. 1-7-3, Muslims Rs. 1-4-5 and other communities Rs. 1-3-4. Similarly High caste, Intermediate caste and Lower caste persons among Hindus earn an average income of Rs. 1-0-9, Rs. 1-4-6 and 1-11-9 per diem respectively.

The common professions of Street Dwellers of Kanpur are Rikshaw Pulling, Jhalli lifting, Thela pulling and various other miscellaneous work and begging. 25% of the total are engaged in rikshaw pulling, 30% Jhalli lifting, 20% thela pulling and other miscellaneous jobs and the remaining 25% are engaged in begging. Among Hindus 20% have taken to the profession of Rikshaw pulling, 41.4% Jhalli lifting, 21.9% thela pulling and other miscellaneous jobs and 16.7% begging. Similarly, 33% Muslims are engaged in Rikshaw pulling, 14% in Jhalli lifting, 18% in Miscellaneous jobs and 30% are engaged in begging. All the persons of other communities are engaged in begging. Rikshaw pullers include 11.2% High caste people, 14% Intermediate caste, 22% lower caste and 52.8% Muslims. Jhalliwalas are 7.3% High caste, 26% Intermediate caste, 48% Lower caste and 18.7% Muslims. Thela-pullers and other miscellaneous workers are 11.5% High caste, 19.5% Intermediate caste, 33.5% lower caste and 35.5% Muslims. Beggars and destitutes are 13.2% High caste, 11.6% Intermediate caste, 14.4% lower caste and 46% Muslims and 4.8% people of other communities.

The adolescent and children below 15 years, and old and infirms above 50 years are engaged in begging while others between 15 years to 50 years of age are engaged in other professions.

Even in this age group disabled persons are found begging. The average per head income in Rikshaw pulling is Rs. 1-11-5, in Jhalli lifting Rs. 1-6-7, in thela-pulling and other miscellaneous work Rs. 1-10-9 and in begging only Rs. 0-12-3 per day.

75% of total Street Dwelling population of Kanpur have casual employment. They come to Kanpur only for few months and again go back during sowing and harvesting seasons when they can find employment in rural areas also. 25% are the disabled and the destitutes engaged in begging. They stay in Kanpur more or less permanently as they have little connections with the rural areas. Begging is the main profession and fetches higher income in Kanpur than any other small town, or rural areas. Even if they go to any other place, they try to come back to Kanpur as soon as possible.

Winter and summer seasons are favourable seasons to the Street Dwellers as the business activities are at their zenith in Kanpur and there are no chances of employment in rural areas except for few weeks during harvesting season. 84.9 and 85.7 percent of the total Street Dwelling population are found on Kanpur pavement during winter and summer seasons. Rainy season with its heavy down pour and dullness in business activities offers little scope of employment to these casual labourers who have to face great hardships in living on the pavements in open without any shed or shelter.

The Street Dwellers Among the Riksha-pullers

Over 10,000 persons living in Kanpur have taken to the profession of Rikshaw-pulling. After 1935 when Street Tram Car services were suspen-

ded in the city, tongas, ekkas emerged as the main means of transport. But as during War period the price of gram started soaring up the tonga, ekka drivers were hard hit. Consequently Rikshaw pullers received a fillip. Since then the number of Rikshaws is multiplying tremendously. The Municipal Board and Cantonment Board of Kanpur have issued 3532 and 1,000 Rikshaw licences upto June 1955. Now fresh licences have been stopped. It has created two evils. Old Rikshaw licences are selling at Rs. 300/- to 400/- per licence and bogus licences are being manufactured by Rikshaw owners. Thus more than 5,000 Rikshaws are plying in the city and over 10,000 persons are engaged in this profession.

At present there is a Bus - Rikshaw competition but the latter will remain popular due to its suitability and cheapness. Among these Rikshaw pullers about 2500 are Street Dwellers. Out of these 53.2% have come from Eastern Zone, 22% from Central zone, 14.4% from Northern zone, 7.6% from Southern zone and the remaining 2.8% from North-western zone of the State. They stay in the city for 3 to 9 months.

The age groups of 25 years to 30 years and 30 years to 35 years have about 55% of the total number of the Street Dwelling Rikshaw Pullers though persons below 20 years and above 45 years are also found. These Rikshaw pullers include 64.4% persons direct from the villages, 9.6% domestic servants, 8% Ekka and Tonga drivers, 6.8% Cooks, gardeners, Chaukidars and boys in hotels, 6% retrenched Army labourers, 3.2% petty shop keepers and 2% technicians.

Out of the total sample of Rikshaw pullers 84% are married, 9.2% un-

married and 6.8% are widowers. A majority of them are quite illiterate and about 20% of them know hardly reading and writing. More than 50% of them work for 8 to 12 hours a day. Rikshaw pulling is a strenuous work and only healthy male adults can pull Rikshaws successfully. 70% of them are ready to leave the profession even if they get any other occupation with maximum monthly income of Rs. 40/- to 60/-.

The Street Dwellers Among the Jhalliwalas

Kanpur is a city of Jhalliwalas who who have contributed most to the smooth running of day to day business. All the nooks and corners are infested by them. It is the most common profession of the Street Dwellers. Their number varies from season to season. It reaches upto 5,000 persons when there is idleness in Rural areas and during busy season of sowing and harvesting the crop their number is reduced to 1,000 persons. Hence average is 3,000 people and 10% i.e, 300 Jhalliwalas have been studied.

Like Rikshaw pullers, 60.3% Jhalliwalas belong to eastern zone, 20% central zone, 9.7% southern zone, 9.3% northern zone and 7% north-western zone of the State. They stay here for 6 to 9 months. Jhalli lifting suits the persons of all ages. Even the minors below 18 years of age and old persons above 50 years are found among the Jhalliwalas. The peak years of migration are 25 years to 35 years. With a rise in age there is decline in migration. They are all illiterate and hardly 5% of them can read and write vernacular. Broadly speaking there are no working hours fixed for Jhalliwalas. They are ever ready if they get some engagement. But generally they work for 14 to 16 hours a day. There is no maximum load fixed for Jhalliwalas, the

stronger the man heavier the load, longer the distance lighter the load and vice versa.

The Destitutes and the Disabled Persons among the Street Dwellers

25% of the total population of street dwellers in Kanpur are the destitutes and the disabled persons. There are 67.6% males and 32.4% females among them. Among males and females, 74.6% are adult males and 77.8% adult females, 25% are boys and 22% are girls. About 33% belong to the district of Kanpur and the rest have come from the neighbouring districts namely Unnao, Etawah, and Jhansi. The eastern districts have also contributed higher percentage and the destitutes from other States are also found. The duration of their stay in Kanpur ranges from 5 years to 30 years. Some of them pay casual visits to other places of religious significance and come back very soon. Others have their dependents and members of their families in rural areas. Some of them are chief supporters of their families. Out of the total number 50.3% are male adults, 25.2% female adults, 17.2% boys and 7.2% girls. Again 21.4% males and 17.4% females are able bodied, old and infirms totally unemployable but 48.3% males and 33.2% females are able bodied employable. 83.6% boys and 83.2% girls are able bodied. Among the disabled persons 16.7% males and 16% females are lepers, 5.6% males, 14.3% females, 4.7% boys and 5.6% girls are blind 1.6% males, 6.3% females, .7% boys and 5.6% girls are crippled, 3.2% males, 4.8% females and 4.7% boys are physically handicapped. .8% males, 1.6% females suffer from stunted growth, and 2.4% males, 6.3% females, 5.6% girls include others who are mentally deficient or suffer from other diseases.

As regards factors leading to destitution and beggary 32.50% males, 63% females have taken to this profession due to landlessness. Disability, parentlessness, poverty, old age, unemployment and family conflicts are some of the chief causes of beggary.

Women among the Street Dwellers

9.30% of the total bulk are women among whom 32.20% are labourers and 67.80% are beggars. These women are 35.3% disabled beggars who are unmarried. 40% labourers, 43% able bodied beggars and 47% disabled beggars are all married. 60% labourers 57% able bodied and 17.7% disabled beggars are widows. Among labourers, able bodied and disabled beggars 76.7%, 1.3% and 80% are Hindus 23.3% labourers, 84.8% able bodied and 1.9% disabled beggars are Muslims, the rest 2.2% able bodied beggars are Christians.

The women of advanced age are in majority. 67.70% are engaged in begging, 11.80% in grinding of pulse, 14% working of Chakkies and godowns and the rest work as domestic servants and in various other miscellaneous jobs. The average per head income of the Street Dwelling woman in Kanpur is -/15/1 per day. Out of these women 91.40% belong to rural areas and 8.6% belong to the different parts of the city of Kanpur.

Adolescents and Children among the Street Dwellers

8.50% of the total population of Street Dwellers of Kanpur are adolescents and children. They include 74 10% boys and 25.90% girls. In this category minors below 18 years of age have been included and small children below 5 years have been excluded as they could not be interviewed. About 50% boys and 40% girls are found in

the age groups of 12 years to 15 years. 87.30% boys and 86.40% girls are able bodied while 12.70% boys and 12.60% girls are disabled. Among disabled are found lepers, 37.50% boys and 33.30% girls; 25% boys, 33.3% girls are blind, 25% boys, 33.40% girls are physically handicapped and 12.50% boys are crippled.

These children are with or without parents on the pavements. 20.60% boys and 18.20% girls are orphans. Those who have parents are 27.70% boys, 20% girls with real parents. 22.30% boys, 60% girls are with step-father and real mother. 50% boys and 20% girls are with step mother and real father. 58% boys and 100% girls have their parents living with them on the pavements and 42% boy are without parents.

31.70% boys and 18.20% girls are labourers. 86.30% boys and 81.80% girls are beggars. They are found near Kanpur central station, on various Ghats and busy markets. 71.80% are Hindus and 28.20% are Muslims. Among Hindus 21.50% are high caste, 31.10% are intermediate caste and 57.40% are lower caste. Only 50% boys can read and write letters and the rest are quite illiterate. All of them are engaged in begging, Jhalli lifting, working in shops and tea stalls and other light jobs. The average income of a Street Dwelling boy is -/10/1 and girl -/7/10 per diem.

Social effects on adult Street Dwellers Vagrancy and Pauperism

In the absence of regular income, shortage of housing accomodation and sky high rents, the Street Dwellers are unable to arrange any dwelling place in the city other than the street. This leads them to vagrancy and pauperism.

Out of their meagre income they try to save as much as possible for their dependents. They remain hungry so that they may feed their wives and children. They remain naked so that they may provide clothes to their dependents. They sleep on foot-paths so that they may provide shelter to their dependants in the villages. There are 91.7% single individuals and 83% families among them in Kanpur. 16.9% of these families belong to the labourers and 83.1% to beggars. Thus the Kanpur pavements are predominantly occupied by males and the percentage of females is very low. This anomaly between two sex is responsible for various social and anti-social activities of the Street Dwellers. Generally male adults become vagrant. 60.9% of them are without any belonging while 39.1% have ordinary utensils and poor beddings. The scanty belongings of Street Dwellers are even without adequate protection. They leave it on the foot-paths during day time when they are away for their engagements, or they keep it over the low roofs of small shops under floor or in a corner of the godowns. Some keep their belongings with them even when they are away on their work.

The investigation about the familial back ground of these homeless persons have disclosed that majority of them have come from poverty stricken homes, broken homes, degenerated homes and over-crowded homes. They generally live in a company of co-workers. People of all castes have been found living together. Their chief source of recreation is to visit Cinema, indulge in playing cards, recitation of Ramayan and Allah. Some of them must be visiting brothels but they did not disclose it. Rikshaw pullers have been found most notorious. Gambling and drinking is prevalent openly among them.

Social effects on Street Dwelling Women Immorality

The Street Dwelling women are living with their husbands, any other male of the family or all alone in the company of co-workers on the pavements. Women engaged in cleaning grains in godowns and Collectorganj Mandi are known as Rezas. Employable women generally below 40 years of age are 52.7% and the rest are old and infirms. Among them are 6.4% unmarried, 43% married and 50.6% widows. Unmarried women are almost disabled and engaged in begging. Even among the married women 40% are living with their husbands, 47.5% have been deserted, 7.5% divorced and 5% have separated from their husbands.

Owing to their appalling poverty they have lost the recreational values and lead a life of frustration and monotony. Loose sexual unions are common among young unattached women beggars and labourers both. Various types of intoxicants are used by the Street Dwelling women. They live in groups of 3 to 4 co-workers. After sunset they chat while cooking their meals on the pavements. Beggars are busy in their profession in the evening when the markets are thronged by the people.

Social effects on the Street Dwelling Children Juvenile delinquency

As an aftermath of the first World war and as a result of the impetus received in the areas of the urbanisation and industrialisation, coupled with the after effects of World war II, social conditions have accentuated delinquent trends amongst the Juvenile population of Kanpur. Urbanisation has affected the family pattern resulting in an air congenial to the growth of this type of social disorganization. Masses of

children migrate from the rural areas to the city of Kanpur and grope for adjustment in the city. The number of socially mal-adjusted children has recorded a gradual rise during the last five years.

A majority of the Street Dwelling children are without parents and are victims of the bad company. Some have widow mothers who are unfit to exercise strict supervision over their wards. Delinquency might be attributed to the inter-related effects of various unfortunate factors in the background of physical and mental make-up of a child. Home conditions, low economic status, bad housing, bad neighbourhood, bad companions, mental conflict, unregulated leisure, cultural conflicts, defective health and many other factors have each been considered as the basic cause of delinquency. It is revealed from the official records that 609 cases of delinquency were reported in 1955 as against only 86 cases in 1951.

Places of shelter other than Streets

It has been found that 11.8 persons of these homeless persons find a place of shelter under the station tin shed and over the railway bridge, 34.1% under the Chhajjas and Balconies of closed shops, on various Ghats and in the verandahs of public buildings, 12.8% of them sleep in the small work shops of Rikshaw Repairs, 10.7% have a dwelling place under the floors of Refugee Stalls and other shops. 6.1% have been found sleeping under the stair cases, 11.9% have prepared their own huts, 5.7% sleep in the shade of big trees, 4.3% have been found sleeping under the sheds of bus stops and the rest 2.6% have no place of shelter at all. They live in open in all the seasons and face the vagaries of nature.

It has also been revealed that Street Dwellers prefer to live nearer to the

place of employment. 58.7% have been found living within a half mile, 31.9% within a distance of one mile and only 9.4% have been found living beyond one mile from their places of employment.

A plea for Priority in Housing Accommodation for the Street Dwellers

The newly constructed labour quarters in different localities of the city are neither available nor suitable to the Street Dwellers. All the planning is meant for industrial workers or middle and lower middle class peoples. No attempt has so far been made to ameliorate the condition of Street Dweller. They remain neglected even to day when various social welfare schemes are being executed. The workers and beggars among the street dwellers of Kanpur have got to be segregated for their proper rehabilitation.

The workers can afford to pay some nominal rent for Dwelling places which should be nearer to the business centres of the city. Beggars are not able to pay any rent and can be rehabilitated any where though they also like to concentrate nearer to the most thickly populated areas where they can have better income by begging.

The destitutes and the disabled persons present various complex problems as regards their accommodation. Beggars with and without families able bodied male and female beggars not husband and wife, unattached children, disabled, diseased, infirms and defective beggars all have got to be accommodated separately.

The labourers may be accommodated in the newly constructed tene-

ments in different localities of the city provided the rent is lowered down. Moreover these localities should be connected with the business centres of the city by regular and cheap means of transport. Even these facilities cannot lure some of these Street Dwellers

to reside in these new colonies as they have no source of regular income and are single individuals without any belonging. They do not want to spend much money on their own welfare as they have to save for their dependents in the rural areas.

BEGGAR PROBLEM IN KANPUR

By

KRISHNA RATAN

Kanpur has so far been known as the biggest industrial and commercial centre of Northern India. It may come as surprise to many to know that Kanpur is also the biggest beggar town of Uttar Pradesh.

Magnitude of the Problem

Out of the total population of about 28,000 beggars in the Urban areas of Uttar Pradesh, there are no less than 3217 beggars in Kanpur alone. According to the 1951 census, the population of Kanpur was enumerated at about 7 lakhs as compared to the total population of 86,25,699 in the urban areas of the State. While the population of Kanpur is about eight percent of the total urban population, the number of beggars in the city is as high as twelve percent of the total number of the beggars in urban areas. It is disconcerting to mention that the beggar population of Uttar Pradesh is the highest among other States of the Indian Union.

The survey of the old, infirm and the destitute including beggars, conducted during January to March 1956, at the instance of U. P. Government through the Social Welfare Office, Kanpur, in association with the Municipal Board, reveals certain interesting features. A few of the salient points are enumerated below :—

It was discovered that as many as 1,442 beggars were concentrated at various ghats on the Ganga. This is no doubt induced by the wrong methods of charity of the pilgrims. The

second highest congregation was found in the congested areas of Moolganj, Collectorganj and Anwarganj (centres of business and trade) where the beggar population of 795 was recorded. The third important centre of begging activity is the Central Railway Station (including canal zone) where the number of beggars and destitutes was found to be 520.

Religious Composition and Physical Condition

Muslim beggars predominate over their Hindu confreres largely due to the existence of a number of tanneries and Muslim Waqfs which cater for them. Expressed in statistics, there are 1689 Muslims, 1314 Hindu and 214 beggars belonging to other communities, a large number of whom are crippled or disabled. To quote statistics again, 1912 of them are able-bodied and 1305 disabled. Analysing further there are (a) 395 male, able-bodied and old (unemployable), (b) 525 males and 235 females, able-bodied and young (employable), (c) 455 boys below 18 and 302 girls below 14 (able-bodied), (d) 595 males and 420 females (disabled) and (e) 165 boys and 325 girls (disabled). Among the disabled persons, there were 427 lepers who move about and infect leprosy, 553 blind, 135 crippled, 103 diseased, 32 physically handicapped and 55 mentally deficient.

Out of the total beggar population of the city 2954 belong either to Kanpur or other districts of the State, no less than 1,840 being drawn from the eastern districts of the State. It is

interesting to note that quite a substantial number (263) hail from other States including the far off ones—Madras and Bengal.

Age Study

A study of the age-groups of the beggars discloses that there were 911 beggars below 20 years of age, 1540 between 20 years and 50 years, 592 between 51 to 70 years, while 162 beggars were between 70 and 100 years of age. Out of the total number, 1030 had quite a few dependents, in some cases 3 to 5 or even more, to look-after. The age of the oldest beggar, a Muslim woman, was reported to be 132 years and she admittedly was engaged in the profession for the last about 50 years. ~

Literacy

One beggar had studied upto the the eighth standard. Barely three percent could read and write their names either in Hindi or in Urdu. It must, however, be noted that many beggars refused to give any information regarding their education, family background or their pecuniary condition.

Support of Family

Some were regularly supporting their families and were remitting money to their homes. The average monthly income of a beggar ranged from Rs. 30 to Rs. 150/- per month, in cash, including what they procured in cereals, sweets, fruits etc. The bulk of them earned in the range of Rs. 75-90 a month. The highest income accrues at the time of religious festivals, eclipses and other bathing days. The cereals and other articles of food, in excess of their daily consumption, are usually sold by them in the market at cheap rates.

Surprising as it may seem, there are money lenders also among beggars.

Many of the beggars deposit their earnings with the money lenders on Halsi Road and the Sarafa. A blind woman beggar, aged about 60 years, admitted to the Seva Ashram (Beggar Home) was reported to me by the Superintendent of the Ashram to have been weeping for the last two days for no ostensible reason. On my comforting her and taking her into confidence she disclosed that she had collected in alms a sum of about Rs. 400/- which she had deposited with a money lender on the Halsi Road and while she stood to lose if she was detained in the Home any longer. This led to make further enquiries and I was surprised to find that she was not an exception but there were many others earning a good amount of interest from investment of their savings. A sum of Rs. 104/- and some gold was found with another beggar (a Madrasi) who was suffering from T.B. and died in the Sewa Ashram. He had a son (8) and a daughter (6), who were admitted, after his death to the local orphanage and his money was invested in the National Savings Certificates to be utilized by children after they had become majors.

Immorality Prevalent

It was revealed by many beggars including old women that young female beggars did not depend only on alms, but also made money through immoral means. Several young female beggars had one to three children, whose parentage remained shrouded in mystery to the investigators.

General Attitudes

Though living in miserable conditions, as many as 41 percent of the beggars were not prepared to leave their profession, and 73 percent of them do not want any help from the Government either. Institutional care, according to them, undermines their capacity to earn and 131 of them were

even bold enough to express their opinion that beggary could never be eliminated. Professionalism and heridity are other dominant factors and 211 were found to be professional and hereditary beggars. There are belligerent and criminal types also amongst them. During the investigation at least four of the beggars remarked the investigators and called them thieves and bread snatchers. One beggar (a Bengali) pretended that he did not beg but give alms to others. Whether it was their guilty conscience or unjustified apprehension of arrest and detention, most of them refused to face the camera and one female beggar even pretended to be blind and closed her eyes when interrogated. About 200 beggars in Dudhwala Bangla slipped away when the investigators reached the spot for interviewing them. Thirty-one beggars were found to be very difficult and did not answer any question. Four Hindu female beggars disclosed that they begged for the marriage of their young daughters and if provided assistance in this direction they would not beg.

Some Cases

The 132-years-old woman beggar had many interesting stories of the Mutiny to tell and still hoped to live a few years more to continue in the same profession. From the savings of her earnings she stated to be helping her youngsters. Another 60-years old Muslim woman had a pitiful story to tell. Belonging to a Nawab family of Lucknow, her property is said to have been usurped by her husband's relations after her husband's death. She is begging to collect money to fight out a litigation and to help the education of her son who has passed his High School Examination and lives at Lucknow.

A stout but blind beggar at Bhagwat Dass Ghat has earned sufficient to

liquidate his debt of Rs. 500/- to give a sumptuary feast to 100 brahmins on the death of her mother and to marry of her niece with quite pomp and show. There are about a dozen such beggars who beg in order to earn money for marrying their young daughters.

There are also many casual beggars in the town who work in the day and beg in the evening to suppliment their income.

The beggars employ elaborate techniques for begging by reciting pity. During the investigations, I have myself observed some beggar dressing and stimulating artificial wounds and limbs to strike a note of commiseration in the hearts of the soft people. Instances have also come to knowledge where they have deliberately maimed or mutilated abducted children to compel them to beg for alms by exhibiting their disability.

Beggar's Home

The causes of beggary are many but it is not possible to discuss them in detail in this brief article. Whatever may be the causes of beggary, we have to admit that it exists in our country particularly in big towns and religious centres which are infested with beggars. In Kanpur they are confined to Railway Stations, business centres and bathing ghats and roads leading to them for there they reap always a rich harvest of alms. In other places they are a great nuisance.

The existence of beggary in free India is a disgrace to the nation and its removal is the moral duty of every citizen. We have to launch a social propaganda with a view to create public consciousness to eradicate beggary and establish Shelters, Work Houses and Beggars' Homes to rehabilitate those who actually need help.

Working towards this end was started two years back in Kanpur with the aim of converting beggars into self dependent, respectable and useful citizens so that even disabled persons might be persuaded to abandon their begging bowl for some productive work and make an honourable living. To achieve the above objective, a Society for the Elimination of Beggary was formed which started a Beggar's Home (Sewa Ashram) at Juhi in a rented building on March 9, 1956, on the auspicious day of Shivratri. This beggar Home is perhaps the second or third such Home started by voluntary effort of social workers of the State in recent years.

The Society decided to make it a Model Beggar's Home and prepared a Five Year Plan to eliminate beggary from the town and to rehabilitate 500 crippled beggars in the Home in the first instance. Therefore, it is expected to give a lead to the whole of Uttar Pradesh in the pioneer work in the direction of solving the beggar problem.

The Society has been maintaining about 50 beggars per month on an average, during this period. A few beggars Home, for they did not get any ready money there except food and clothing and they were also required to work. The beggars generally do not want to stay in the beggars Home as they can earn more by begging and in the absence of any legislation they

cannot be forcibly detained. As a result of the survey and the opening of the Beggar's Home, a number of able-bodied beggars have disappeared from the city. But it is reliably learnt that a good number of them have returned now. Therefore, it appears that by the mere opening of the Beggar Home the problem cannot be solved. Beggars feel more 'comfortable and prosperous' on the streets rather than in the Home. The problem can be solved through the cooperation of almogivers. If they stop giving alms to individual beggars, it will discourage beggary. But they can, of course, make donations on an organised basis by giving charity to the Beggar Home. Education of the almogivers is as important as that of the beggars for the elimination of this great social evil. The Society for the Elimination of Beggary, has made a good beginning towards this end through the exhibition of cinema slides and display of posters in the town.

The Beggar's Home is the first step in the direction of Social Welfare Scheme in the city. Efforts are being made to establish a Model Home for Unwanted Children and a Work House for the destitute and unattached women of the town. For the successful implementation of these schemes, however, public consciousness is an important factor. There is great need for honest and sincere social workers and financial assistance by those who can afford it.



PUBLIC OPINION AND THE TREATMENT OF THE CRIMINAL

By

K. RAY-CHOWDHURY

Criminals are not peculiar animals but human beings like us. According to psychologists they are all abnormal and we may, while discriminating the criminals from us, inculcate a tone of sympathy towards them and think about their proper treatment. It is probably known to the educated men that according to modern psychology all of us are abnormal to some extent but are not declared as psychological cases only because we consciously or unconsciously bypass the moments of accidents. Similarly, many reputed and supposedly normal citizens avoid legal declaration as criminals, may be due to their high intelligence, or due to some accidental escape, or due to the privileged position as those of escapism through their devotion to religion, art, philosophy etc. (cf Griffith 1934) they enjoy, or due to some such factors if we can tolerate or adjust these criminal-minded citizens in our society, it appears we could possibly stand the convicted criminals too to some extent. Yes, the question is how long the extent could be, or in other words we can question what the limits are.

Now, these limits or extents of tolerance concern the public opinion. From the history we learn the trials of the war criminals, of the many philosophers, scientists, artists, and even the religious preachers. Why were they tried at all? It is because various publics with different opinions had to be satisfied. But sometimes it so happens that in the eyes of a certain public one might have done a cogni-

zable offence and has to be declared as a criminal. Yet, in the eyes of law he is honourably acquitted. Does it, then, mean that there is no relation between the public opinion and the criminal? Does it mean the public opinion has nothing to do with the declaration of the criminals under different categories according to the nature and degree of crime, and ultimately, their treatment too? The appropriate answer is "No". For, some small section of people consisting of friends, relatives or favourable officers might have held entirely an opposite view or opinion; and they also, as technically called (cf. Sprot, 1952), constitute a public, however large or small might be the size of the group they belong to. So, we find it is the difference of opinions of the publics that matter us most. And the ideal judgement as to the idea of crime, the methods of declaring the violators of law as criminals and their treatment could only be obtained if there would be no difference of opinion. That is possible only in an ideal society; or else the majority opinion or sometimes the opinion of the powerful in the state remains the only basis of judgment. Of course, in modern days we have progressed a lot as we have avoided the judgment or rather the tyranny of the monarchs of the middle ages due to the changes in the forms of governments which are now-a-days in the hands of the public, or common citizens.

As the structure of our modern society has become very very compli-

cated, it is rather difficult to see the relationship between public opinion and the treatment of the criminals. Otherwise, when we trace the history (cf. Hentig, 1947; Barnes *et al*, 1955), we find it is the public opinion that has discriminated certain unsocial elements as criminals, classified them into several groups, and prescribed their treatment too. In short, this public opinion is the control over the criminals and the state order is a codified public opinion. But according to the views of several thinkers like Kimball Young (1948), Freud (1922) and others, we may say that public opinion is not the opinion of the public but of those who control it. Here comes the role of leadership which, in modern times, is in the hands of the experts and various institutions such as religious, political, social, economic industrial, and educational whereas in the beginnings of the society formation it was mostly in the hands of magicians, and those who wielded power in the name of God, or religious faith and many other faiths, e. g., two persons under trial might be asked to fight and he who was defeated would be declared as criminal, sometimes asking the person on trial to fight against a ferocious animal and if he could escape, he was supposed to be not guilty. Various anecdotes of the treatment of the criminals at various stages of the society right from its primitive form are available. From the historical evidences of the treatment of the criminals by the rulers in the middle ages, it appears that the methods applied, such as crushing the criminals under elephants, was no less barbaric. To-day we might laugh at these silly thoughts of our predecessors and wonder at the theories behind their methods of proving and treating a criminal. Time will come when our systems of declaring and treating the criminals would also be laughed at. The movement of abolishing

capital punishment in Great Britain in 1954-55 was enough a support for us to imagine such a criticism in near or remote future.

Our interest would be to arouse and direct the public opinion or consciousness to-wards crime prevention as "prevention is better than cure." But the techniques of prevention cannot be better than what our society could possibly afford. It is dramatically put by several thinkers that the methods of treatment of the criminals in any society at any time is the index of the civilization the society has attained. Our society is the society of 'sputniks' and can afford the services of much advanced social sciences like psychology, criminology, penology besides many other physical sciences. And we require the public or publics to polish their old views in conformity with those offered by the present day science.

Definition of Crime

Whenever something revolting has happened the cry is heard, "That is a crime". We speak of crimes against humanity and of crimes against good taste. The Crime of 1873 (which is known as The Law of February 12, 1873, so called by the advocates of free coinage of silver) was a well-known political slogan. Criminals are the intentions and schemes of our political adversaries (cf. George 1920). Crime to the criminologist is something clear-cut : a violation or neglect of legal duty for which the law, either common or statutory, has provided legal discipline. Not from sheer caprice or ignorance but for sound reasons has crime been formalised and restricted to a concise set of facts, thereby narrowing the interpretative wits of fair and unfair judges. For the same reasons the highly formalised nature of crime does not admit of psycholo-

gical nuances. Since crime is a society-made majority-approved notion, little is left of it when the majority is carried away to crime as we saw in the last India-wide riot before partition. Whether an action is a crime or not depends on numerical proportions and whether the law enforcers outnumber the lawbreakers. All these shortcomings of the law would justify the distinction between legal crime and sociological crime. Hence, among the innumerable human doings marked as wrong or socially determined by morals, religion, mores, folkways, or other social controls a few are selected and sanctioned by a formal and positive dictum of organized society. Outside this narrow circle of reinforced taboos many things are unallowed and unapproved, yet, according to criminology, they are not crimes.

But from the broad sociological and psychological point of view the words law, custom, tradition, imitation, and ceremony describe some of the things that a person can or cannot do so long as he remains a member of the society. Under certain circumstances the act of reaching for a *Chapati* is a permissible act; but under other circumstances it is strictly forbidden. Under some circumstances it is not only permissible but desirable to remove one's clothing; but custom sees to it that nakedness does not occur on a public highway.

Theories of Criminal Behaviour

An eminent criminologist, Sutherland (1939) has limited his theory to systematic criminal behaviour. But we doubt whether association with criminals is the specific causal process in the development of systematic criminal behaviour, although we admit it plays a considerable rôle. The impressive formula that 'crime is the cause of crime' is partially correct but confusing and unsatisfactory from

a theoretical viewpoint. If association with persons who engage in criminal behaviour is the specific cause of organized crime, then prison must be considered the main source of crime; we are afraid there is much truth in it. Plato who, however, lived in a slave-supported world, full of political struggles yet destitute of the grave of the social and economic problems of modern times shared, at least partly, Sutherland's belief. Examining the causes of crime, he recognizes only lust, ambition and fear. To this limited group of evil-doers, the help of evil-averting goods and community with god men may be beneficial. The starving man requires that bread be added to the fear of gods and the exemplary life of good men.

Speaking of criminal behaviour, we must distinguish between the forces that underlie each form of behaviour, both lawful and criminal. There is *first* the disposition of the individual, by which we understand his regular and fixed manner of reacting to outside stimuli. There is *secondly* the tremendous variety of forces that act upon this disposition, which may be physical (temperature, humidity, etc.), bacterial (germs of influenza or syphilis), individual (the wife, the superior, etc.), or cultural. Social organisations are so set up that crime is not required to obtain the essential necessities of life—food, sex satisfaction, the gratification of primary emotional urges. This is the theoretical assumption of our social philosophy, our constitutions, and criminal codes. But social reality often falls short of these ideal expectations. It is here that the practical contradictions and difficulties of setting out a glowing theory of criminal behaviour begins. According to many other criminologists a good working theory is "Genuine criminal behaviour is defective adjustment to social environment."

The ancients had a definite philosophy on the demoralizing effect of abundance in whatever form it may have appeared. They thought the slavery spoiled the slaveowner, dictatorship the dictator, victory the victor and excessive wealth the wealthy. Plato, in his *Laws*, XI, pp. 919, called wealth and poverty the two enemies of a good state which the legislator should fight equally. The crime may result from excessive prosperity and unchecked license has been shown by some of the most famous criminal cases. The overprivileged child is as much a problem as the underprivileged.

Treatment of the criminals and their responsibility

A. Punishment:

As we have already discussed in the introduction, long before there was any such thing as a formal system of jurisprudence, society had worked out a scheme for handling the wrongdoer and the criminal which has persisted to the present time. This scheme was based upon the doctrine that punishment should be essentially punitive in character. The point was that a criminal had wilfully brought injury to another person or to the social group and that he must, therefore, pay a proper penalty for his action. Or in other words, the law cannot be satisfied until an eye has been given for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. This means the history of penology is replete with tales of the dungeon, the inquisition, stonning, and other forms of violence. It also means that the history of education is just as replete with whipping, reproof, and the fool's cap (cf. Barnes, 1933). But we, the Indians, in the land of Mahatma Gandhi should be inspired by his philosophy a psychological interpretation of which I once drew in 1952 with a view to modifying the wrong

notion of Ferudian principles further drawn into those of frustration-aggression hypothesis by the modern psychologists (cf. Miner, 1999), so that our treatment to the wrongdoers or criminals could be more sympathetic and humane from the psychological angle.

With a view to humanize legal practice, modern jurisprudence makes three assumptions about punishment: (i) the punishment should really exact the pound of flesh from criminal, (ii) that it ought to reform or redeem him, and (iii) that it should deter him, and all other persons as well, from further crime (cf. Schlapp and Smith, 1928). It usually happens, however, that arguments in favour of the redemptive and preventive power of penal methods turn upon the assumption that the majesty of the law and supremacy of society must be maintained no matter what happens to *correction and prevention* (cf. Smith, 1922). Some persons argue that confinement itself is punishment as the wrongdoers are denied of their social privileges but those offenders who receive light punishments are not so much a problem to the society. Again, it has not been shown, for example, that a social group has secured any particular advantage by having levied fines against offenders and the evidence is rather scanty to support the view that the individual himself has profitted much thereby (cf. Smith, 1922). Let us study three important aspects of punishment: (i) functions of punishment, (ii) experimental studies on punishment (iii) the social consequences of punishment.

(i) *Functions of punishment:* We have already said that, in addition to the punitive or retaliatory doctrine of punishment, there is the doctrine of redemption and the doctrine of deterrence. Those who try to sanctify the

retaliatory functions of punishment often say that retaliation is incidental to what, after all, must be the primary function of punishment *i. e.* redemption. The criminal must be handled in such a way that he will come out of his confinement with a new attitude toward society and with new motives and new skills such as can make him a self-sustaining member of society (cf. Sutherland *et al*, 1933). The actual evidence on this point has not been altogether encouraging. In a study of 500 criminal careers in a reformatory it was observed that most of the persons who reported no aid appeared actually to have received further schooling in crime (cf. Glueck *et al*, 1930). Moreover, the adverse educational effect of prison is almost beyond recital (cf. Karpman, 1933). Various other functions are discussed by the previous thinkers. Some do not see the utility of punishment to certain wrongdoers. They have also brought out the psychological factors of punishment such as pain and unpleasantness (cf. Beebe-Centre, 1932) in connection with learning by conditioning.

(ii) *Experimental Studies*: But experimental studies such as those of Vaughn *et al*, 1930 on learning and efficiency, McTeer (1931) on certain features of punishment in serial learning, Hurlock, on the value of praise and reproof as incentives for children, Miller (1948) on fear as on acquirable drive and many others have obtained reliable, though not very sufficient, results to plead against the utility of punishment as a corrective measure.

(iii) *Social consequences of punishment*: It is certainly clear from the work of such organizations as the Judge Baker Foundation that large numbers of delinquent individuals can be retained and turned back into society as responsible members of the group (cf.

Healy *et al*, 1922). The psychoanalytic school points out that when there has been a miscarriage of justice the individual himself feels as though his personal freedom had been endangered. When a criminal whom every one believes to be guilty is dismissed by the creation of a reasonable doubt in the minds of a jury, a court is put in a position of saying that the defendant must be allowed to conduct himself in a way that is denied other persons (cf. Alexander *et al*, 1931).

Many modern theories of the treatment of the criminals have been put forward by various penologists. But none appears to be so clear as those of the psychiatrists and so, we will, at the moment, devote ourselves to that aspect before putting down the concluding remarks.

B. Criminal Responsibility and Psychiatry:

There has been much discussion on this subject without the attainment of a satisfactory compromise between the medical and legal points of view. Public interest in criminal responsibility was aroused in 1843 when a certain McNaghten, who had delusions of persecution, was acquitted from a charge of manslaughter (cf. Dawson, 1955). After the trial the judges of the country were asked to confer and to express their opinions, which were summarised as follows.

"In order to plead insanity in defence of a criminal act, it must be proved that, at the time of committing the act, the party accused was labouring under such defect of reason from disease of the mind as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing or if he did know it, that he did not know he was doing what was wrong" (*i. e.* morally wrong as regards that particular act). This may be considered as the *legal* test of insanity.

To establish a successful defence, insanity (usually some form of delusion) must be proved to be directly responsible for the crime committed. A person is not to be held responsible if he acts in a way which would be permissible if his delusion were true. Cases frequently arise in which insanity and irresponsibility of behaviour may be combined with a relatively high degree of reasoning power so that the criminal, while undoubtedly insane, has been able to realise the nature and quality of his act and its wrongful character, and has also been capable of skilful planning, and who yet could scarcely be held to be responsible. This may be the case with epileptics who commit criminal acts while in a state of automatism. Sir Fitz James Stephen maintained that "a person should not be punished for any act when he is deprived by disease of the power of controlling his conduct, unless the absence of control has been caused by his own default."

(i) *Drunkenness and responsibility.* Drunkenness is not held to be an excuse for crime, but evidence of alcoholic insanity and fits of delirium may establish a successful defence.

(ii) *Epilepsy.* Criminal acts may be performed in the condition of epileptic furore and epileptic automatism. In order to establish a successful defence, evidence should be forthcoming that (a) the accused suffers from epilepsy of the major or minor type, involving loss of consciousness; (b) the crime was closely associated with an epileptic manifestation. Absence of provocation or motive favours automatist.

It should be noted that in epileptic automatism conduct is often of the same type in various attacks. Further the patient rarely, if ever, retains any recollection of his conduct during the automatism, although he may retain

a memory for some details of the transition period between automatism and normality.

(iii) *Kleptomania* may be set up as a plea for theft. It may be suspected when the objects stolen bring no material gain, are of one class and have a symbolic value as a fetish. It occurs in children; also in women, often at the menstrual period.

(iv) *Moral insanity.* Defect of moral sense may occur either from developmental defect or as an acquired condition in association with a psychosis. Defect of these qualities may be associated with normal or even high intellectual capacity. Hence the necessity for the distinction between intellectual and moral defect which has been made in the Mental Deficiency Acts of 1913 and 1927 of Great Britain in order that certain cases not regarded as defective in ordinary intellectual sense may be dealt with. The following should be noted in connection with those "persons in whose case there exists mental defectiveness coupled with strongly vicious or criminal propensities, and who require care, supervision, and control for the protection of others." (a) *Permanent mental defect.* The development of moral sense as of other mental qualities may be delayed, but if an individual fails to display it by the time he reaches adult life he may well be regarded as suffering from a permanent mental defect. (cf. Freud, 1930) (b) *Early age.* The moral defective has almost invariably displayed an inability to respond to discipline or to show regard for others from an early age. He has either been an aggressive rebel or in a more passive way has failed to respond to and fit into the family circle. As he grows older his anti-social conduct in the form of lying, stealing, cruelty and sex offences not only persists, but becomes more serious. Punishment is ineffective, often the

delinquencies appear to be motivated by some blind impulse, to bring little or no gain or satisfaction and to be certain of detection. (c) *Strongly vicious and criminal propensities*. To become subject to be dealt with as a moral defective there must not only be a lack of moral sense, but anti-social behaviour which is offensive or embarrassing to the community even though such conduct may not always be punishable according to law.

(v) Here comes another term, psychopathic personality the manifestation of which is observed in an unstable socially mal-adjusted individual who cannot more correctly be described in terms of some other diagnosis, such as mental deficiency, psychoneurosis, or psychosis. The psychopath shows little evidence of desiring to be different from what he is and fails to co-operate like the majority of psychoneurotics. The psychopathic criminal may often be regarded as possessing a reduction in the degree of responsibility for his actions, and neither punishment nor treatment has any ameliorative influence. Since these qualities have usually been in evidence from childhood it will be seen that the concepts of moral defect and of psychopathic personality have many points of

similarity. These psychopaths are also exempted from legal charges.

(vi) *Homicidal attacks* occur especially in paranoia, epilepsy, mania, and in melancholia.

(vii) *Infanticide* may occur in puerperal mental disorders.

(viii) *Suicide* is a felony in the eyes of law, unless the coroner's jury give a verdict to the effect that the person was of unsound mind or that the balance of his mind was disturbed at the time that the act was committed. A person may be charged with having attempted suicide and the plea of soundness of mind may then be raised. In conclusion it should be stressed that we, must be keen about the methods of arousing the public opinion and its measurement so that we can place in record a systematic body of knowledge regarding the direction, variation, fluctuation, and intensity of public opinion about the treatment of the criminals in India. Unless we can scientifically measure the opinion of our public, we cannot guide them according to our purpose for the prevention of crime in our society.

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SCHOOL AND CRIME PREVENTION

By

V. G. JHINGRAN

The problem of delinquency in childhood and its continuation in criminal behaviour in adult life is directly linked with the process of socialisation. There is no scientific basis for thinking that delinquent behaviour patterns are innate. Children are not born with ready made adjustments to the conditions imposed by their adult human environment is a conclusion to which the results of many volumes of experimental studies of child behaviour and development point with complete unanimity. Individuals are neither born saints nor born criminals. The problem of delinquency as such is not why children become delinquent but 'Why some of them do not get properly socialised'. There is a world of difference between these two lines of thinking. When we say 'why do children become delinquent' we almost make a tacit assumption that it is normal or natural to be good and abnormal to be bad, that is to fail to conform to conventional adult standards. As against this when we say, 'why these unfortunate delinquents have not been properly socialised' we start with an assumption, and a correct assumption, that almost all of us are born delinquents or criminals, in the sense that each one of us would make the crudest, almost animal approach, in the satisfaction of his needs, were he not subjected to a correct and adequate process of socialisation. This line of thinking immediately focusses our attention on training. Delinquency or criminality is there not because there are delinquents or criminals, but because society has failed to educate some of its youngsters properly in the formative years of life.

Many of us, especially those who are not well oriented towards psychology or social psychology, sometimes make an erroneous presumption in this regard. We are wont to presume that early education is very similar in the cases of all the individuals, and if certain individuals fail to conform to the standards demanded by the society in later life, it is their fault in entirety. I would like to impress upon them that a mere glance would reveal the wide differences which exist in between the education of one child and another. As we look round, we may find children bereft of the affections of their fathers and mothers, brought up on the pavements, in the company of those who themselves have never been properly socialised, and at the same time we may find children brought up in congenial homes with emphasis on the right and wrong from the very beginning. Or we may find a set of children whose frailties are connived at by their parents, and another set of children whose frailties are frowned upon, and host of such other differences. And such differences in the early life in large part determine whether a child would be a socially adjusted individual or would develop into an antisocial personality. Society prepares a crime through its negligence and an innocent individual gets punished for it as a criminal.

As has already been mentioned criminality is merely a continuation of delinquency in the school going years. Individuals do not become criminals over night. Small crimes always precede great ones. We never see timid innocence pass suddenly to extreme

licentiousness. In an investigation of adult male criminals in London by Shaftesbury, it was found that not even two out of hundred had entered upon a course of crime who lived an honest life up to the age of twenty. Almost all who enter a course of crime do so between the ages of eight and sixteen. And it is natural. Both, delinquency in school going years and criminality in adult life are the symptoms of the one and the same thing—want of proper education towards socialisation in infancy and primary school stage. The bully of the schools meets a tougher guy in his actual life and either commits a murder or gets murdered. The boy who had learnt pilfering or stealing in his school takes to theft and larceny in his adult life. And then the process of canalisation works. Means become ends in themselves.

Not that all delinquents without exception turn into criminals in their later lives. Certainly most of them get benefitted with the education that they receive either at the school or at home during this period, and learn proper adjustments. This is very significant. It gives us hope that inspite of early faulty training and education, children can still be set right in their school and college going ages. The problem of criminality therefore is the problem of delinquency. If we could eradicate delinquency at the school stage we could certainly hope to rid the society of criminals. My personal belief is that the education of children at the primary and secondary school stage should be so thorough and complete, that every child, by the time he ends his school career is fully and properly socialised. By socialisation I mean that he learns to have his primary and derived needs satisfied in socially approved conventions and methods only.

Under the existing conditions in especially, the problem of socialisation could be best tackled at the school going stage with compulsory education

in sight, every child would be going through the school, and if some effective measures for character building are adopted at this stage, we could certainly hope to achieve marvellous results. The ideal position certainly would be, that correct education starts right from infancy at the hands of the parents in the homes. But we can not place much reliance upon it. 'Parents are the worst teachers, and if this is true for Western countries, it is doubly true in the case of India, and we shall have yet to wait for a long time to have sufficiently large number of Parent Teaching and Counselling Centres. As such our primary efforts should be to improve education at the primary school and the secondary school levels. Obviously the type of schooling that we have these days with too much emphasis on learning alphabets or the rules of arithmetic with little emphasis on character building is not going to help us. Radical changes are necessary.

The aim of education primarily is to inculcate correct ego ideals in the children. By ego ideals I mean those perfectionist standards which we carry within us, and strive to attain. When actions measure up to the ego ideal, we are elated and filled with pride; when however our actions fall short of it, we are sorry and feel hurt. It is through our ego ideals that we derive our moral code of conduct. We do not steal, drink, gamble or run away with some body else's wife because such actions are not in harmony with our ego ideals. Take these ego ideals away and we shall be worse than savages. The major ill of the society to day is that we are not having the right sort of ego ideals. Honesty and plain truth are at a discount, instead tact and diplomacy have come to occupy their place, which when a little twisted make means subservient to ends. With such ego ideals we can not expect our youngsters to keep always to the straight path.

In the light of the aim of education thus envisaged *i. e.* formulation of correct ego ideals through education, the following 12 point programme may be suggested for implementation in our schools.

1. *Careful Selection of Teachers*—Teachers have a very delicate task to perform. They are not merely directors of learning, but also friends and counsellors of pupils. They should necessarily be competent in their jobs. At present it is almost taken for granted that the mere passing of professional courses, is a haul mark of competency. Unfortunately the professional courses fail to reckon the personal and social qualities of the teacher such as considerateness, emotional stability, objectivity, intelligence, cooperativeness, kindness, sympathy, and the like. Suitable tests should therefore be prepared to evaluate such qualities and critical scores found out so that candidates seeking admissions to the teachers training courses, could be screened at the time of admissions to such courses. The work could be taken up by our district psychological bureaux or by the selection committee of the Teachers Training Colleges.

2. *Employment of fresh university graduates as teachers in primary schools*—Children incorporate the ego ideals demanded of them through suggestion and identification. This suggestibility and identification is at its highest when the source stimulating suggestion possesses a high degree of prestige in the eyes of those suggested. In the school situation therefore, it is almost axiomatic that a teacher has a high prestige value in the estimate of his pupils, because then and then alone the patterning of the ego ideals of his pupils could proceed after the image of the teacher's ego ideals. In the present set up our teachers, specially those entrusted with the primary education command little social respect. This is doubly detri-

mental in the advancement of education. Teachers suffer from inferiority complex and take it out on their pupils. The pupils on the other hand realise that their teacher is but a little puny figure and an ego ideal patterned after him is not going to help them in their future lives *i. e.* in obtaining rewards and avoiding punishment at the hands of the society. To offset this unhappy position, it may be suggested that our graduates should be asked to put in at least one year's service as a primary school teacher before they are considered for appointment anywhere else. Such arrangement would have manifold advantages. Being graduates, they would command sufficient respect if not for any thing else than for their learning, and young and fresh they would take up their jobs enthusiastically in a missionary spirit. This would go a long way in improving the standard of education at the primary school level.

As a necessary corollary of this, there should be a month's course for those who opt to work as teachers, as a part of their social service, in child psychology. The training colleges should be entrusted with the running of such courses during the vacations, and the Govt. should provide necessary facilities for this.

3. *Emphasis on hobbies*—The activities in the school should be so regulated that they are in conformity with the psychological needs of the child. In the present system of schooling only a few children who are at the top derive a satisfaction from their studies, while the rest remain frustrated. A large number of pupils in the school situation to-day, fail to find adequate opportunities for an expression of their needs for gain, power, and prestige, and it is no wonder, that left to their own resources, they seek the gratification of such needs outside the school in ways which are not always socially

commendable. A strongly built child may take to bullying while a timid one may find an expression to his hostility in stealing or pilfering. Besides, dissatisfied and disgruntled, they develop negativistic attitudes towards the school. As such it is essential that greater attention is given to the development of hobbies amongst school children. It is through the cultivation of hobbies alone, that we could be sure of providing a reasonable satisfaction to the fundamental psychological needs of each individual child, and keeping the child away from the less adaptive methods which he may make resort to on his own. In this connection I may also mention that child should be left completely free in the choice of the hobby in accordance with his tastes and interests. By trial and error he would soon arrive at one for which he is best adapted. Out door hobbies, like fishing, gardening, vegetable growing and even taming and training pet animals should be freely encouraged.

4. *Adjustment through games and recreational activities*—We can not hold any distinction between education for leisure and education for other purposes. Schools should therefore recognise preparation for leisure as one of its major objectives. The modern school should not only be an institution for learning, but at the same time it should also be a recreational centre for the children. Investigations have further revealed that it is during the elementary school period that recreational habits of permanency are acquired best; an emphasis on healthy recreation therefore is all the more necessary at this stage. If children are properly oriented towards employing their leisure hours in healthy pursuits, it would minimise chances of their falling in undesirable company and going astray. There is plenty of truth in the oft quoted proverb 'An empty mind is a devil's workshop'.

Healthy recreations further, have a cathartic value; they provide an outlet for the pent up emotions and are good substitutive means for the satisfaction of fundamental psychological needs. Along with it, when the school begins to be looked at as a recreational centre, and not merely as a place to learn difficult and unwholesome tasks, it results in the transformation of attitudes of children, and an identification with the school and the school teacher is facilitated with consequential advantages.

Recreational activities have diagnostic value as well. Watched intelligently, they reveal the hidden aspects of the personality, emotional blockages, capacity to bear frustration and the faulty adjustments made under stress. As such the teacher could as well develop these activities for a better and a fuller understanding of the pupils under his charge.

5. *Opening of public recreational centres*—Closely associated with the recreation facility in the school, is the opening of public recreational centres. By public recreation is meant the provision of such facilities as parks, play grounds, libraries, museums, botanical and zoological gardens supported by public funds. Occasionally school boys reside at a distance from their schools and are thus not able to partake in the school games regularly. It is therefore desirable that more and more play grounds, parks and other recreational centres are opened at the public level. This would promote social intercourse and a better understanding of social ideals.

In this connection attention of the government is to be drawn to open students hostels, after the pattern of the U. S. S. R., at health resorts and other places of educative value. One of the great difficulties encountered by schools in the arrangement of tours is the problem of board and accomoda-

tion. If these facilities are made available by the govt. quite a large number of students and teachers could be profitted by it.

6. *Enforcement of dress regulations*—Dress has an immense moral effect upon the conduct of the individual. Proper dress regulations and uniforms may therefore be promoted in the school. Uniformity of dress promotes the idea of equality and facilitates group identification which in turn prompts the individual to live up to the ideals demanded by the group. And it is exactly what is sought after in the school situation. It is also desirable that certain dress regulations are prescribed for teachers as well.

7. *Maintenance of pupil diaries in schools*—In a class room situation child is the unit. A teacher is required to educate not pupils, but the pupil. Unless the teacher understands the frailties and the strong points of each of the children as an individual, he can never hope to give him guidance either in his education or for suitable vocation. With a view to promote a better understanding of the child by the teachers, maintenance of a diary for each one of his pupils may be suggested wherein the teacher would record all the available details about the child viz particulars about his home environment, his economic status, his interests, his attitudes towards the school, etc. In these diaries shown by the child and the remedial measures taken should invariably be mentioned. The record should be permanent.

To facilitate the collection of pertinent data, the division of school boys into small groups under a leader (who could be appointed by rotation), may be suggested and who would make a report to the teacher regarding the conduct of the members both inside and outside the school.

8. *Establishment of a school for problem children at the district level*—Our teachers are not competent enough, (nor they are expected to be) to provide proper counselling in the cases of difficult children. A school may be established especially for such children at the district level. Such schools should have child counsellors who are qualified to take proper correctional measures and give proper guidance where it is required.

9. *Radical changes in holidays and vacations*—One great defect with our system of education is that we have too many holidays. These holidays come intermittently. This breaks the continuity of the school programme, weakens the contact of the child with the school and acts as a hindrance in the developments of habits of regularity amongst children. With a view to increase the influence of school in the lives of the children, holidays be cut down to the very minimum. The desired scheme should be that instead of the having school closed every now and then for a day or two, sessional vacations of a duration of two or three weeks be introduced. This would ensure a continuity in the school programme, increase the influence of school upon the child, and provide suitable opportunities for out-of-station tours, camps, rallies and such other activities.

10. *Steps towards parental education*—The family may be viewed as the original and basic source of education. Whereas it is a medium for producing wholesome normal personality, it is as well a major source of maladjustment. Parents who are domineering, emotionally unstable, incompatible, quarrelsome, stingy, egocentric, jealous, insecure, overworked, strained, dissipated, or brutish are likely to distort the lives of their children. Those who over-protect, over-indulge, un-

justly punish, excessively criticise, suppress, discriminate, ignore, or otherwise deal intemperately with children may provoke flight or fight reactions, neuroses, or perversions which will characterise and continuously handicap the children throughout their entire life.

No definite steps towards parental education have so far been taken in India. Teachers should now make a beginning in this direction. Since the pupil under the charge of the teacher is commensurably affected by his home environment, it becomes obligatory for the teachers to take some concrete steps in the direction. To start with they could deliver fortnightly or monthly lectures to the parents on the father and mother craft and where some special attention is necessary, educate the parents through personal contact. The department of health and other social welfare agencies should also be requested to assist in this programme through lectures, publications of pamphlets on the subject and film shows.

II. *Bane of cheap literature*—For the past few years cheap literature has begun to flood the market in alarming proportions. By cheap literature is meant a literature which emphasises wrong social values and antisocial ideals. To give an example, in many detective fictions a criminal is painted as a hero and is shown as out-writing the process of the law. This sort of literature reaches the hands of the youngsters, and they tend to identify with the criminal and incorporate criminality in their ego ideals. All such literature should be banned outright. However, plenty of such literature which though unsuitable for youngsters, may yet have a cathartic value for adults would still remain. Such

literature should therefore be marked for 'adults only' and the transmission of such literature to the youngsters be made punishable and the law should be strictly enforced.

12. *Sex education*—Sex is one of the most knotty problems of adolescence. It is the one single factor to which the largest number of crimes and the major maladjustments of the adult life can be traced directly or indirectly. The puberty, that is, the physical need for sex in the male child begins at the age of about fourteen, yet he is required to postpone the satisfaction of this need by about ten years for social, economic and health considerations. This creates an anomalous position. Social morality demands its inhibition while the physiological processes clamour for its satisfaction, and the poor child is torn between these two incompatible demands. The problem has engaged the attention of the psychologists, sociologists and the moralists of all times, but no satisfactory solution has yet been found. We can not drift back to promiscuity nor advocate satisfaction through early marriages which result in weak children, impairment of health and high birth rate. The problem of sex, therefore, is how best to prepare the child for the inhibitions demanded of him. Associated problems are the feeling of guilt which arise in children through lapses and the fear reactions developed through ignorance. To begin with, a relevant step which could be taken in this direction is the imparting of sex education to children at the onset of puberty. This would have the effect of satisfying the curiosity of the child, allaying his unfounded fears, developing an insight into his sexual problems, and producing a rational attitude towards them.

THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS ON CRIME

By

KRISHNA MATHUR

The pattern of an individual's life is greatly influenced by the society in which he is born. The criminals are no exception to this. The writer has tried to find out the extent to which the socio-economic factors, particularly the family conditions, are responsible for the crimes. The conclusions are mostly based on an investigation carried out by her in 1956-57 to determine the "Effects of Socio-economic factors on the behaviour of boys and girls in Higher Secondary Schools." The study is based on a survey of 500 students of IX & X classes of the Higher Secondary Schools of Aligarh. Their age range was from 12 to 14 years. The main findings of the study are as follows: (1) That students belonging to upper socio-economic strata are comparatively well adjusted in their social and emotional life. (2) That students who belong to lower socio-economic strata possess a feeling of insecurity. (3) That students coming from the two contrasting groups of society differ in their behaviour in and outside the class. (4) That students belonging to upper socio-economic strata are more intelligent and their educational achievement is higher.

In the light of the above investigation the writer safely concludes that maladjustment due to socio-economic status of the family is the most unfortunate factor in the development of delinquency. Below are given differences in family conditions of low and high socio-economic strata which according to the writer, are responsible for the undesirable behaviour of the students. (1) Poorer economic conditions which disturb

the mental and emotional life giving rise to so many conflicts which lead to undesirable behaviour. (2) Feelings of selfishness, rivalry, and jealousy which develop among the children of poor families. (3) Feeling of insecurity and introversion which are commonly found among the children of low socio-economic strata. (4) Lack of sympathy and affection among the members of low socio-economic strata. (5) More frustration and dissatisfaction which lead to lawless behaviour of the children of the poor families. (6) The development of anti-social feelings leading to criminal behaviour. (7) Comparatively greater decline in moral values of the children belonging to low socio-economic strata may be one of the causes of the crime. (8) Habits of smoking and use of intoxicants which are more commonly found in poor families and affect badly the children therein. (9) Defective discipline and lack of supervision in poor homes. (10) A greater sex consciousness due to vulgar companionship. (11) Inadequate socio-cultural opportunities in poorer homes. (12) An entirely poor heritage of the children of poor family as compared to those of high families.

The following remedies are suggested to check the above evils: (1) A psychological treatment of the delinquents. (2) Investigation and removal of bad environmental conditions. (3) Raising the standard of living of the common masses. (4) Proper religious and moral education with love and sympathy. (5) Social reforms with the help of psycho-therapy in order to breed a sense of individuality, self respect and responsibility.

Book Reviews :

THE ART OF LOVING

ERICH FROMM,

World Perspectives: Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York; pp. 133.

A welcome addition to the library of World Perspectives. The Art of loving is quite an attractive book to dip into. Lovers of wisdom alike as lovers of men and women will find it highly stimulating and instructive. As usual, the author has handled the theme with grace and agility and has taken particular care this time to be simple and lucid. The book consists of three parts; the first dealing with the theory of love, the second with love in contemporary society and the third with the practice of love. Dr. Fromm begins by pointing out that love is essentially an art and must needs be learnt and practised as an art. It is generally believed that there is nothing to be learned about love. To love, it is supposed is quite simple; what is difficult, however, is to fall in love and to be lovable. The assumption behind this widely prevalent thought none too sane attitude is that the problem of love is not the problem of a faculty but the problem of an object. Loving in fact consists not merely in falling in love but in being able love and in being in a permanent state of love. The first necessary step in the learning of an art is the understanding of its theory. Dr. Fromm accordingly devotes the first chapter of his book to a discussion of the theory of love.

The upshot of the discussion is that love is an expression of the primordial human urge for at-onement, and is based on the principles of care, respect, responsibility and understanding. The development of human race Dr. Fromm remarks, consists primarily in man's gradual emergence from the state of original oneness with nature, or in other words in man's progressive alienation from nature. And endowed as

he is with the capacity to become aware of himself and his relations, he is deeply conscious of this fact—that he is alienated and lonely. This consciousness creates in him an urge for at-onement, which is sought to be fulfilled through conformity with customs and traditions, ritual practices and creative work and myriad other ways. But the at onement achieved through these devices is neither real nor permanent. Real and permanent at-onement can be achieved only through interpersonal fusion-love. What the author calls interpersonal love is not the same thing as symbiotic union. The relation between the pregnant woman and the foetus is symbiotic; the foetus is totally dependent on the mother; it is a part of her. Love on the other hand refers to "union under the conditions of preserving one's integrity, one's individuality". It is "an active power in man, a power which breaks through the walls which separate him from his fellowmen, which unites with others". To say that love is an activity is to say that it is primarily giving and not receiving. The loving person gives, gives his beloved that which is alive in him, his joy, his understanding and all the expressions of that which is alive in him. Love as an activity also implies care, responsibility and respect and understanding. Care is an active concern for the life and growth of one's beloved and hence there can be no love without care. A woman can not at the same time love flowers and not water them. Likewise a person who is not possessed of the ability to respond to the needs of his beloved cannot love. But responsibility must be accompanied by respect and understanding. To respect means to look at the person as he is, to be aware of that which is unique in him, to

allow him to grow and unfold as he is. To sum up Dr. Fromm's argument, to love is to give, to care, to respect and to understand. Man must love because he must overcome his loneliness through at-onement. Every form of love, the author points out, be it the love between the mother and the child or that between brother and brother or man and woman is the expression of the same existential urge for union. Even self-love which is ordinarily supposed to be sinful is essentially altruistically oriented. Love, thus understood, is the essence of living; it is the only sane answer as Dr. Fromm puts it, to the problem of human existence.

Love has become a marginal phenomenon, a rarity in contemporary society. "Modern man" remarks Dr. Fromm "is alienated from himself, from his fellowmen and from nature. He has been transformed into a commodity; experiences his life forces as an investment which must bring him the maximum profit attainable under existing market conditions. Human relations are essentially those of automatons". Automatons obviously cannot care, can't respect, can't understand and therefore can't love. What else is the modern ideal of marriage if not that of a smoothly functioning team? The husband is expected to be faithful to his wife. But he cannot be faithful if fails to comment favourably on her new dress. The wife in turn is supposed to be forgiving and understanding; she must patiently listen to him when he returns home tired after the day's business; she should not be angry but understanding if he happens to forget her birth day. What else is the relation between the two if not that of mutual sex-satisfaction? Team work and mutual sex satisfaction are then the two forms of socially patterned pathology of love prevailing in modern society. Besides these there are numerous other individualised forms of pathology of love such as mother-centred

love, father-centred love, sentimental and idolatrous love which are considered to be neurotic by psycho-analysts and psychiatrists.

The practice of love according to the author involves discipline, concentration, supreme concern and the overcoming of one's narcissitic orientation. Is it possible then to practice love in contemporary society? Dr. Fromm answers this question in the affirmative. There is no incompatibility, he says, between love and the secular way of life of the West. But it will not cease to be a marginal phenomenon he further remarks, until radical changes are introduced in the structure of our society.

It would not be difficult to conclude from all that has been said above that Dr. Fromm is a determined believer in the double doctrine of the ultimacy of the social and the essential animality of man. He has stressed the point over and over again that man has emerged from the animal kingdom and is in search of a new and higher form of harmony which in Dr. Fromm's opinion can only be social because the one that is now lost to him was animal. If the attainment of social harmony is really the summum bonum of life then there can't be a better explanation of love than Dr. Fromm's. But a deeper analysis of life would show that it is not an end itself but a means to an end, an end which lies beyond it, is, that is to say, suprahuman. In whatever form it is conceived, the end remains intrinsically the same. Traditional thought has recognised three principal ways of attaining it—the way of knowledge, the way of action and the way of love—the mystical the metaphysical and the theological so to say. So, even though there is no denying that love aims at union or at-onement, its significance is bound to remain to obscure until the concept of at onement is interpreted dialectically. The principal

shortcoming of Dr. Fromm's theory of love then is that it is based on a wholly misconceived philosophy of life. Love aims at the realisation of the absolute fullness of being as exemplified in the unanimous life of the three gods of the Holy Trinity of both the Christian and the Hindu traditions. And it is really an art, an art whose practice alone can ensure a fuller and richer life here.

S. P. Nagendra.

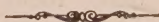
Explorations in Social Psychiatry

Ed. by Alexander H. Leighton, John A. Clausen and Robert N. Wilson; Basic Books, Inc. New York, 1957.

The issues examined in this book are the concept of normality, relationship between social and cultural environment on the one hand and mental illness and prevention on the other, and as to how a society reacts to vari-

ous symptoms of mental illness. There are thinkers who maintain that modern society as a whole is sick and it is difficult to expect one who is a member of a sick society to be in a normal state of mind. Normal? The concept has been examined at length in this book, but it seems to the reviewer that the concept of normal cannot be understood without reference to a society's value orientation. For a particular experience may evoke different kinds of mental reactions in an individual in different types of social structures and cultures. The chapters on 'Socially Shared Psychopathology', 'Bereavement and Mental Health' and 'Paranoid Patterns' deserve specific attention. The entire book, in so far as it is possible, gives a good insight into the phenomenon of mental illness. Above all, it is not purely Freudian.

S.C.V.



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